

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
A HISTORICAL SKETCH



VICOMTE DE MIRABEAU

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

BY
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AUTHOR OF "NAPOLEON THE FIRST,"
"NAPOLEON THE THIRD," ETC.

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FOREWORD

THERE is no epoch in modern history so interesting as that of the French Revolution: it has a perennial charm which attracts everybody. The American public is hardly aware of the vast literature upon this fascinating period which has grown up in France during the last few years. Hardly a month has passed without the appearance of some book, article, or pamphlet, throwing new light on the subject. Histories, biographies, memoirs, have been published; and taken together they constitute a formidable Revolutionary library.

Most English readers derive their knowledge of the Revolution from the great work of Carlyle, which is really a marvellous "prose epic," rather than a history, and is far from accurate, in view of the many facts which have been brought to light since its publication. Of more recent date is the scholarly and judicial history of Professor H. Morse Stephens, but it ends with the year 1793, and unfortunately has never been completed.

Nearly all the French historians, especially the earlier ones, are simply brilliant special-pleaders — resolute advocates of the side they have chosen. To this category belong the works of Mignet, Thiers, Louis Blanc, Quinet and Michelet. The story of Mignet, first published in 1824, still retains its position as the most useful manual of the history of the Revolution. The fault of Mignet was in being too terse, while Thiers erred in the opposite direction; and his book is marked by the same blemishes which detract from his far greater history of the Consulate and the Empire. He is often inaccurate, and generally unfair: his narrative is influenced too much by his political opinions. The same remark applies to the books of Blanc and Quinet. The

FOREWORD

history of Michelet is a work of genius, but he also fails to be judicial when he tries to estimate the virtues and vices of his own ancestors.

In a class by itself is the great work of Monsieur Taine, "*Les origines de la France contemporaine.*" For style, vigor and power, these volumes are unequalled, but like Michelet his work is colored by his prejudices, and he cannot do justice to the actors in that great drama which is called the French Revolution.

Of more recent date are the books of Sorel, Chuquet, Aulard, Madelin and Lavissee. Sorel has written the diplomatic, Chuquet the military, and Aulard the political history of the period. The story of Madelin is brilliant and absorbing, and the two volumes just published by Lavissee are clear and comprehensive.

In writing on the subject of the French Revolution, it is not easy to fix either the starting-point or the end. The story can hardly begin with the assembling of the States-General in the spring of 1789. To be intelligible, it must go back at least to the close of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. At the other end, it is difficult to stop short of the advent of Bonaparte in the autumn of 1799. It is also difficult at times to follow the strict chronological order of events. Even at the risk of some repetition, it is necessary that facts of the same kind should be grouped together. To attempt, for example, to explain simultaneously the conflict of parties at Paris, and the battles on the frontier, would only produce confusion in the mind of the reader. In order to make the narrative clear, it has been thought best, therefore, to present the facts, turn by turn, in several parallel series, rather than in their chronological sequence.

In deference to what seems to be the present taste of the reading public, notes and references have been excluded, as interfering with the course of the narrative. A brief Bibliography is given at the end of the volume.

WALTER GEER

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CHAPTER ONE

1715-1774

THE OLD RÉGIME

Death of Louis the Fourteenth — The New King — France under the Old Régime — Privileges of the Nobility and the Clergy — Miserable Lot of the Peasantry — The Remote Causes of the Revolution — Death of Louis the Fifteenth — Changes during His Reign — The Capital — The Rural Districts — Manufacturing Industries — Medical Progress — The *Lettres de Cachet* — Social Life — Court Etiquette — The Parisian Salons — The Political Writers — Their Influence

ON the first day of September 1715 Louis the Fourteenth died in the great palace which he had built at Versailles. He was not quite seventy-seven, and he had been King of France for over seventy-two years. His was the longest reign in French history.

The First Gentleman of the Chamber stopped the clock in the King's bedroom at the minute of his death, and then passing into the adjoining Salle de l'Œil-de-Bœuf, appeared on the balcony above the Cour de Marbre. To the waiting crowd in the court below he cried three times, "Le roi est mort!" then, breaking his wand of office, and taking a fresh one, "Vive le roi!"

The new King of France, Louis the Fifteenth, was a child five years of age. Four years before, his grandfather, the Dauphin, the only son of the "Roi Soleil," had been carried off by the small-pox. He had lived

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little respected, and he died little regretted. The Dauphin's eldest son, the Duc de Bourgogne, then became the heir apparent. It was only for a short period. Early in the following year a malignant fever attacked the Duchesse, and in a few days she was dead. Her death was followed by that of her husband and of their eldest son. On the same day, the remains of the three were deposited among the tombs of the French monarchs at Saint-Denis. Three successive dauphins of France, the son, the grandson, and the great-grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, had passed away within a year.

The Duc de Bourgogne was a man of serious purposes and of exemplary life. If he had reigned it has been thought that the benefits of the Revolution might have been attained without its horrors. This, however, is doubtful. Nothing he ever said or did, in his short life of twenty-nine years, would indicate that he had either the instinct to be in harmony with the drift of opinion, or had the force to control it. He probably would have been as powerless as Louis the Sixteenth to arrest the course of the French Revolution.

The person who became regent during the minority of the new King was the Duc d'Orléans, the nephew of Louis the Fourteenth, who had married his cousin, one of the illegitimate daughters of that monarch.

In February 1723, the young King completed his thirteenth year; by the law of France he then assumed power in person, and the regency terminated. At that time the Old Régime was still in full vigor: the general social and intellectual condition of the people had shown no change. A half a century later, when the "Well-beloved" ended his inglorious reign, the *Ancien Régime* was on the verge of dissolution. In order to understand how this change was brought about, it is necessary to examine the conditions and institutions of France out of which it grew.

France possessed no constitution: the government was an unlimited monarchy. All executive and legislative power was vested in the sovereign. He could declare war

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and make peace; he could initiate new laws and disregard old ones; he could impose taxes, and use the national revenues as he saw fit. But while the royal authority was nominally unrestrained, practically there were many things which the king could not do. There were innumerable rights and privileges which he could not afford to disregard. There were exemptions from taxation granted to cities, corporations and classes, which he had to respect. The church and the nobility possessed privileges, coming down from the feudal period, which operated as a check upon the unbridled authority of the monarch. Thus the power of the sovereign, while nominally absolute, was in practice limited by customs, privileges and traditions which he was bound to consider. The king was really the chief slave of a system which he was powerless to modify. If economical by nature, tradition forced him to be prodigal; if inclined to make reforms, nothing was more difficult.

The people might have continued to endure this system but for two things: the existence of privileges, and the financial situation, which in a measure was the outcome of these. About two hundred and seventy thousand Frenchmen were supposed to possess privileges. Most of these held feudal rights which exempted them from taxation, as a reward for service in former times. Many of the great nobles no longer lived on their estates, and left them to be mismanaged by agents. The expenses of life at Versailles were so great that the demands for money were constant, and the stewards in the country, even if inclined to be lenient, were forced to exact the last sou.

The Clergy was almost equally unpopular. It was rich and powerful. It owned about a fifth of the land of France. This land yielded a large revenue, and in addition the Clergy exacted tithes on all the agricultural products of the realm. The wealth of the Church has probably been exaggerated, but its income from all sources could not have been less than two hundred million livres a year. Out of this it was the duty of the

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Church to maintain religious edifices, to support many hospitals, and to relieve personal distress by charity. All of the property and income of the Church was exempt from taxation, although from time to time it paid a certain lump sum to the national treasury as a "free gift."

The division of the revenues of the Church within itself was also a cause of discontent. The income of the one hundred and thirty bishops who ruled the Church of France varied from 7000 livres to 400,000 a year, while the same inequality marked the revenues of the various abbeys. While a bishop, like Rohan of Strasbourg, scattered gold in all directions, many of the humble parish priests, 60,000 in number, were starving, more or less, on their miserable stipend of 700 livres a year.

The unfair distribution of the taxes had exasperated the common people, and nobles and clergy alike were detested on account of their immunity. All privileged persons were exempt from the "taille," the most unendurable of all the direct taxes, which took more than fifty per cent. of all incomes. Even more unpopular was the "gabelle," the indirect tax of the salt monopoly. The peasant's back was nearly broken under the weight of this burden of feudal rights, church tithes and royal taxes, for he bore nearly the whole brunt of them all. The inevitable consequence was that he always lived on the verge of disaster. If the harvest was bad and the winter unusually severe he faced actual want. It did not need the destructive theories of Voltaire and Rousseau, of whom he had never heard, to convince the humble tiller of the soil that feudal dues must be abolished and royal taxes reduced before his lot would become endurable. The writings of the "philosophers" had but little to do with bringing on the French Revolution.

The causes of that great convulsion may be traced directly to the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, when the monarchy seemed to be in its most flourishing state. That

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reign, which has often been termed the "Golden Age of France," was one of those periods in history which shine with a peculiar brilliancy, only to be followed by gloom and decay.

The world seems at last to have formed a correct judgment regarding the Grand Monarque. He was not a great statesman; he was not a great general; but he was, in a sense of the word, a great king. Both his internal administration and his foreign policy were bad. The military triumphs which gave splendor to the early days of his reign were not achieved by himself, and were followed by years of humiliation and defeat. Yet he succeeded to the last in impressing those who surrounded him with the deepest awe and reverence. This is all the more remarkable because his whole life was passed in the public gaze. It is an old saying that no man is a hero to his valet, but the whole Court assembled to see Louis rise in the morning and go to bed at night. All Versailles came to see him dine and sup, and he walked around the park with two hundred courtiers in his train. Voltaire speaks of his majestic stature, and all of his contemporaries thought him tall; but when the royal tombs at Saint-Denis were violated during the Revolution, it was found that this most majestic of princes was only five feet eight.

He left to his infant successor a beaten and humbled army, an empty treasury and an enormous debt; but magnificent palaces and an innumerable household. While the nation was starving, the Court was never so flourishing. Yet the luxury by which he was surrounded, instead of making him unpopular, seems only to have increased the respect and admiration which his subjects felt for him. Never was there so consummate a master of kingcraft!

In the spring of 1774, the end was near of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth — one of the longest, one of the most disastrous, and by far the most disgraceful in the history of France. Declining years had brought no change

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in the old King's method of life, and during the winter the frivolity and dissipation of the Court had continued unabated. On the 28 April the King sought refuge from the ennui of Versailles at the Trianon, and here he became seriously ill. He was taken back to the palace, and it soon became manifest that he had small-pox in a very virulent form. At the Court, as well as among the people at large, the hope that the disease would prove fatal was hardly concealed. The time had long passed when Louis was well called the "bien-aimé." The calamities of the reign, the wastefulness of the government, the ignominy of his private life, had made all classes desirous of a change. Nothing could be worse than the reign of Louis the Fifteenth.

On the sixth of May the King received the sacraments, and four days later he died. He was sixty-four years old, and had been King of France for fifty-nine years.

It may be of interest here to review briefly the changes in material conditions and social customs, which the long reign of Louis the Fifteenth witnessed.

The reign in many respects had been a failure. Disastrous wars had resulted in the loss of nearly all the colonial possessions of France, and had given England, her greatest rival, the control of the seas and the mastery of North America and India. The finances of the country were in a desperate condition, and successive ministers had shown their inability to deal with the problems of the day. The ignominy of the sovereign's life had resulted in largely destroying the "divinity (which) doth hedge a king."

Nevertheless, it is surprising to find at the close of the reign a feeling of hopefulness, and confidence in the future, where despondency might have been expected. Nor did this anticipation of future happiness rest entirely upon the prophecies of political enthusiasts. Many improvements in material conditions were apparent to the observer.

The changes in Paris were most marked, and Voltaire

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speaks with delight of the thousands of lamps which illuminated it, of the cleanliness of its streets, and the good order which prevailed.

Paris was even then a great city, and its population was not far from seven hundred thousand. Much had been done even under Louis the Fourteenth to improve the sanitary condition of the capital. Formerly the city had not been lighted at all; now eight thousand lanterns served in a measure to dispel the gloom. But on moonlight nights the lamps were not lighted, and the traveller found his way about as best he could.

Shortly before the Revolution it was estimated that the number of buildings had increased over thirty per cent. within twenty-five years. At the beginning of this period the Hôtel des Invalides had been considered as in the country; now it was surrounded by houses. Another improvement during the century had been the placing of signs to indicate the names of the streets, and the numbering of the houses.

Cafés, the first of which was opened at the end of the preceding century, had increased rapidly, and at the time of the death of Louis the Fifteenth there were over five hundred in the city.

With all of these improvements, much of the mediæval city still remained. There were no sidewalks, and down the centre of many of the streets extended a gutter to carry off the accumulated filth. The drainage was so bad that in rainy weather these soon became torrents. This flood was thrown to the right and left by coaches and carts, and to keep as far as possible from the carriage road was therefore the endeavor of every pedestrian.

When the darkness fell the difficulty and danger of walking about Paris became serious indeed. The windows were opened and pails were emptied with little regard to those passing below. The filth and odors of many streets were as bad as in some Oriental towns of the present day.

There were no police to preserve order, and thieves and robbers plied their trade with impunity. The only

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protection of the city was from the regular troops stationed there, who were only called out to suppress riots.

The growth of the capital had caused a steady rise in rents, which instead of being regarded as a sign of increased prosperity was looked upon by many puzzled observers as an indication that the nation was ruined. The rise was most marked in the fashionable quarters, which were then the Faubourg Saint-Germain and the Faubourg Saint-Honoré. Everybody wanted to leave the provinces and come to live at Paris, which many persons considered a positive sign of national decadence.

Nor was this improvement confined to Paris; in fifty years Marseille and Bordeaux had doubled in population, and many other cities showed a rapid growth. Another chronicler writes that houses were better built, carriages more comfortable, roads better kept, inns more numerous and cleaner than in the past.

In the country there were many signs of agricultural progress. Formerly the absentee landlords had paid but little attention to the cultivation of their estates, but soon after 1750 the press began to give prominence to articles on the production and sale of grain, and the people took great interest in these questions. Within the following thirty years agriculture made more advance than during three centuries before. The amount of land reclaimed in all parts of France was very considerable. In 1766, lands thus recovered were relieved from taxation, and Necker stated later, in his report on the finances, that altogether permissions were granted to reclaim a million acres of land.

The growth of the manufacturing industries in France was also rapid at this period compared with the past, but was not nearly so striking as in England at the same time. Although the French were leaders in political and literary influence, and in scientific research, they made no improvements in the practical appliances of industry which could be compared to the discoveries of Watt and other inventors which came a little later. A deadening in-

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fluence on inventive progress in France was exercised by the complicated system of regulations through which it was sought to bind industry in unchanging forms. As one writer put it: "They do for us what the Chinese do for the feet of their women: we are bound so tightly in rules that we cannot grow."

Soon after the middle of the century the surgeons for the first time escaped from the tutelage of the barbers, who had long claimed the exclusive right to perform operations, and secured their recognition by the doctors as members of a learned profession. At the same time, inoculation became quite general. This had long been used by the Chinese and other Eastern peoples, and through the letters of Lady Wortley Montagu had become known in England, where it was adopted with great success. The French people, with their usual conservatism, had been slow to accept this innovation, and the royal family had always refused to submit to inoculation, although many members had died of small-pox. The more progressive younger branch of Orléans advocated the practice some years before the King's death, and their example was followed by many others. By 1766, the use of inoculation was extending rapidly, and a hospital was built at Paris for the purpose. Vaccination was not introduced by Doctor Jenner until the early part of the next century.

Other reforms met with even more opposition. An effort was made to furnish Paris with water-works which would enlarge and improve the supply of the city, but the measure was delayed by the twenty thousand men who had the monopoly of operating the water carts, and who foresaw the ruin of their business.

A practice under the Old Régime which has been universally condemned, although quite generally misunderstood, was the famous *lettre de cachet*, an order supposed to issue from the king himself, under which a man could be arrested without formal charge, and confined for an indefinite term without trial. These orders, contrary to the general opinion, were rarely issued for political pur-

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poses. Their chief use was in the exercise of the paternal rôle which the monarch endeavored to fill. The king stood *in loco parentis* to a people taught to respect parental authority to a greater extent than is the case even now in France. The sovereign, as head of the State, could properly exercise over his people that authority which every father claimed in his own family. A large proportion of the *lettres de cachet* were issued at the request of parents. It is well known that the famous Mirabeau was confined at Vincennes at the demand of his father, to prevent him from bringing disgrace upon his family. There were innumerable petitions of this nature, and such requests were rarely refused.

At few periods has social life been more charming. Hospitality was practiced on a large scale, and the great houses stood open for guests at all hours. Grand dinners were never given, because every one dined at an early hour — three o'clock at the latest. The ladies never dressed for dinner, and the men usually wore plain or embroidered costumes, but never evening dress or uniforms. After dinner there was general conversation, and later the ladies retired to dress, while the men awaited them to go to the theatre. Those who remained at home received visits during the afternoon. At nine-thirty in the evening the guests arrived for supper. This was the real event of the day in society. At this time there were fewer balls than later. The costumes worn by the ladies made dancing almost impossible. Every one wore heels three inches high; a pannier of heavy and stiff whalebone, extending on each side; a coiffure a foot high, surmounted by a bonnet, upon which feathers, flowers and jewels were piled up, besides a pound of powder and pomade which at the least movement fell upon the shoulders. The head-dresses were so lofty that women could not find carriages high enough to admit them and were obliged to kneel down or put their heads out of the windows.

The portraits of the time still preserve for us some reflection of a society which has passed from the earth.

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In the paintings of Boucher and Fragonard we can see the elaborate dress, the tranquil features and the perfect breeding of those who believed that the main object of life was to secure its pleasures. No existence was ever more artificial or more charming.

During the life of Louis Quatorze the French aristocracy was drilled in etiquette at Versailles as severely as the Prussian grenadiers were put through the manual of arms at Potsdam. The politeness of the King was at once a masterpiece in itself and a method of government: it was charming, it was also useful. The infinite grace and the imposing majesty of his countenance did more than can be told for the greatness of his reign. He never passed the humblest woman without raising his hat. He spoke little, but a word from him was an honor about which people talked. In short, no man ever sold his words, his smiles, and his glances to better advantage. It is not easy to realize the effort imposed on himself by this man whose whole existence was spent in public; who never for a moment forgot that he was the Great King, and played his rôle without once weakening in the course of over fifty years! He remains the perfect type of the finished gentleman.

During the reign of Louis the Fifteenth the authority which Versailles had exercised was gradually transferred to the salons of Paris, where there was a freedom and charm of conversation, an interest and an excitement which could not be found amid the restrictions of court life. The influence of Versailles was waning, that of Paris was waxing. This was true not only in society, but also in politics and literature. The judgments of the Court on the merits of a book or of a play were no longer accepted. For the next quarter of a century the great Parisian salons were the centres of European thought. In them were elaborated the doctrines which spread over the Continent. Nowhere did the teachings of Voltaire and Rousseau find a more cordial reception than among the French aristocrats who were the choicest product of the Old Régime, and who were destined to perish with it.

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No review of this period would be complete without a reference to the political literature which prepared the way for the Revolution. Through the century a group of brilliant writers gave expression to the discontent and longing of the age. Many of these ideas were of American or English origin; some were of native growth. It was a literature of criticism, of denunciation, of suggestions for a brighter future. It was not wholly destructive: to a certain extent it was even constructive in its tendency. The volume of these writings was large, and the influence tremendous.

The campaign was opened by Montesquieu, a prominent lawyer, a judge of the Parlement of Bordeaux, and a member of the nobility of the robe. His great work was the "Spirit of Laws," published in 1748. It had an immediate and enormous success, and ran through twenty editions in as many months. It was a cold, clear, dispassionate analysis of the various forms of government, ignoring contemptuously the claims of divine origin, and striking at the very roots of the system of the Old Régime. The English government, according to his ideas, was the best, because it guaranteed personal liberty to all citizens. He also set forth the necessity in any well-organized state of separating the executive from the legislative and judicial branches of the government. In the French monarchy all were blended and fused in the single person of the king. These principles have dominated all of the constitutions of France since 1789, and have exercised an influence far beyond the boundaries of that country.

Even more remarkable, although of a very different character, was the work of Voltaire, the master spirit of the age. No writer was ever more versatile. He was eminent not only as a poet, but also as a historian, a dramatist, and even as a scientist. He was a brilliant leader in the fight for the liberation of mankind. With good reason he detested the Old Régime, and no one did more to bring about its downfall. He literally proved the truth of the old adage that the pen is mightier than the sword.

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He was never tiresome, he was always interesting, and he generally had something to say. Voltaire, however, was not a democrat; his idea of government was a benevolent despotism. As he expressed it, he would rather be ruled by one lion than by a hundred rats. Well known at the age of twenty-three, when he died sixty years later he was regarded as the greatest genius of the age.

Very different in tone and tendency were the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. His work was constructive, while that of Voltaire was destructive. He advocated the creation of an entirely new political system, because nothing less would make liberty possible. He detested the Old Order, which he regarded as the cause of all the ills from which humanity was suffering. The son of a Geneva watchmaker, he had practiced many trades: valet, music-teacher, tutor. He had wandered far and wide, and had known want and misery.

Rousseau's principal work was his "Contrat Social," one of the most famous and influential books ever written. Opening with the statement that "man was born free and is everywhere in chains," he proceeds to outline a purely ideal state, in complete contrast with the one in which he lived. He maintains that all men are free and equal; that society rests upon an agreement of the persons who compose it; that the people are sovereign — not any individual nor any class. He did not agree with Montesquieu in his admiration for the British form of government, and did not think that the English people really enjoyed personal liberty.

Many of his ideas were unsound and impractical. He did not believe in the representative system of government and thought that the people should themselves make the laws. Government must always be by majorities; the majority may make mistakes, but it is always right — a very dangerous doctrine. It made possible a tyranny by a majority over a minority quite as complete and as odious as any royal despotism. But two of his ideas stood out in high relief — the sovereignty of the people and the political equality of all citizens, and these principles

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were to profoundly affect the course of the French Revolution.

The influence of the political writers in bringing about the Revolution is a fascinating question, but no more space can be given to it here. Only one man out of twenty in France at that time could read or write, and it was the illiterate masses, not the educated classes, who caused the Revolution. The explanation is to be found in the conditions and evils of the national life, and in the errors of the government, rather than in the writings of the "philosophers." The Revolution of 1789 was much less a rebellion against despotism than a revolt against inequality; its nature was far more social than political. The populace had not read Rousseau and Voltaire; they cared little for liberty; they had no dreams of a parliament like that of Westminster, a constitution like the American. Their desire was to secure social equality, and to be relieved from crushing taxation. This is the real explanation of the fall of the *Ancien Régime*.

CHAPTER TWO.

1774-1779

THE YOUNG SOVEREIGNS

Death of Louis the Fifteenth — Childhood of Marie-Antoinette — Her Marriage — The Dauphin — His Personality — Appearance and Character of Marie-Antoinette — Her Married Life — The Paris Fêtes — Début of the Reign — Popularity of the Queen — The Royal Family — The “Era of Follies” — The Opéra Balls — Extravagance of the Queen — Passion for Play — Growing Unpopularity — Visit of the Emperor Joseph — His Good Advice — Efforts to Reconcile the Royal Couple — His Final Instructions — Birth of Madame Royale — End of the First Phase

IT is the tenth day of May 1774, and a fortnight has elapsed since the old King was stricken with the dread disease at the Trianon and brought back to Versailles. At three o'clock in the afternoon, a lighted candle, placed in the window of a room adjoining that in which the King is dying, is suddenly extinguished. It is the signal agreed upon to announce the end. At the same moment, a prolonged noise, “like that of thunder,” awakens the echoes of the long silent Château; an instant later, quick steps resound in the antechamber of the Dauphine: it is the crowd of courtiers who are rushing to salute the new sovereigns of France. Overpowered with many emotions, Louis the Sixteenth and Marie-Antoinette fall on their knees together, and with streaming eyes exclaim: “O God, guide us, protect us; we are too young to reign!” The same evening, at six o'clock, the Court is installed at Choisy. The new reign has begun.

Let us pause for a few moments to observe the young sovereigns, before taking up the story of the reign, with its great duties and its many heavy burdens.

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Marie-Antoinette was the ninth child and the sixth daughter of Maria Theresa, and her husband, Francis of Lorraine, Holy Roman Emperor. She was born on the second of November 1755, the same day that an earthquake destroyed the city of Lisbon, burying under the ruins more than thirty thousand persons, and causing to flee from their palace the King and Queen of Portugal, the sponsors of the child. This terrible coincidence, however, was not thought of as an omen until a later date.

Of her childhood it is unnecessary to speak at length. Her winters were passed with her brothers and sisters at the Burg, the imperial palace in Vienna, and the other seasons at the château of Schönbrunn in the suburbs. The Empress was too much occupied with affairs of State to supervise her education, which was much neglected. Her favorite playmate was her sister Caroline, the future Queen of Naples.

She was only nine years of age when the idea was first suggested of her marriage with the Dauphin of France, the heir of Louis the Fifteenth. It is needless to say that this idea was entirely political in its origin. The Courts of Vienna and Versailles felt the necessity of an alliance, strengthened by a family bond, as a safeguard against the encroachments of Prussia, the jealousy of England, and the menace of Russia. No trace can be found of official negotiations. The plan, tacitly agreed upon, gradually took form, and was generally understood long before it was announced.

The contract was signed on the fourth of April 1770, and the marriage by procuration took place on the nineteenth, the Archduke Ferdinand representing the Dauphin. The little bride was not yet fourteen and a half years old, and was so ignorant that she could hardly read or write. Two days after the ceremony the Dauphine set out for France, after a tender parting with her mother, whom she was never to see again.

The journey was made by short stages, and it was not until the 14 May that the cortège reached Compiègne

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where the French royal family had arrived the previous day. The King seemed to be delighted with the little Archiduchesse, while the Dauphin, who "kissed her on the cheek," appeared cold, silent and embarrassed.

Louis-Auguste, Dauphin of France, was then fifteen years and nine months old, having been born on the 23 August 1754. During his childhood he was very delicate, but as the result of intelligent care, and constant exercise in the open air, at the château of Bellevue, where he was brought up, the robust blood of the Bourbons had in the end overcome the lymphatic temperament which he inherited from his mother. He was now a fat, chubby boy, with large limbs, with a somewhat heavy look, but very different nevertheless from what he became later, from the "lourdaud obèse" (obese clumsy fellow) whom the inhabitants of Varennes saw with stupor descend from the *berline*. His face was plain, his nose arched and red, his teeth irregular. He was very short-sighted, and his timidity, which prevented him from looking people in the face, gave him an unfortunate air of dissimulation. His voice was rough and inharmonious. His appearance was common, and he was rarely well-groomed, with his hair in disorder and a general air of untidiness. When seated, he had a certain majesty of bearing, but as soon as he stood up, the clumsy balancing of his body, and his waddling gait, destroyed this good impression.

Heavy and vulgar in appearance, he was no fool: there has been much misapprehension on this point. He had received a good education, especially in history and geography, and had really a remarkable memory. He was liberal and generous-minded, a true Christian, with a spirit which was too forgiving. The most striking point about his character was his lack of determination: he had no will. During his whole life, this was his principal defect, the cause of all his faults, the origin of all his misfortunes. This natural weakness was allied, as frequently happens, with a certain brutality of manners. Although kind and good, he wounded people without

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knowing it, and he was particularly disagreeable when he was in good humor.

At bottom, and this is the worst of his traits, his duties bored him. He was born for private life, but his ancestors, as Mignet puts it, had "bequeathed him a Revolution." Politics, war, love, had no charms for him: he had one passion only, the chase, and between two hunting excursions he worked as a locksmith. These expeditions gave him a huge appetite, almost the only Bourbon characteristic he possessed. In short, Louis was not a true scion of his race. Pious to the point of bigotry, and chaste to the extent of neglecting his wife, he had in his veins but little of the blood of Henri Quatre — the *vert-galant*.

It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that between this gross prince and the attractive young girl whom Destiny had given him for a wife. The only point of resemblance between them was their ages: he was not quite sixteen years old, she was fourteen and a half. They were only two children: the one immature, the other precocious. In all respects, they were different. The portraits and the descriptions agree in proclaiming the charm of Marie-Antoinette. She was not thin, but *svelte*; her form was supple and well modelled; her manner, lively and gracious. Of medium height at this time, she was to continue to grow until her nineteenth year. Her feet, her hands, her neck and shoulders, were irreproachable in contour. Without having regular features, she attracted every one at the first glance. Her face, which was rather long, was of a pure oval; her forehead, slightly rounded, was crowned with a dense mass of blond hair, lightly powdered; her nose was rather arched than aquiline, and fine at the end; her mouth was small, her lips ruby, with the Austrian prominent lower lip; her eyes, of an azure blue, were slightly prominent, and very bright and expressive. Her complexion was dazzling, of a transparent delicacy, and with a natural color which rendered unnecessary the use of the rouge which was then required by custom. She carried

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her head high, and this, with the shape of her mouth, would have given her a disdainful air, if her grace and her desire to please had not altered this haughty expression as soon as she began to speak. Her smile won all hearts; and her voice completed the charm: it was clear, well-modulated, and of an attractive softness, with just a touch of a German accent, which she overcame later on. All her movements were correct and harmonious.

Between her and the Dauphin there was the same lack of resemblance in character and in intellect. She had not a deep mentality, but she grasped an idea quickly and assimilated it without difficulty. She was endowed with a subtle tact, a delicate *flair*, which enabled her to find, under all circumstances, the correct expression, the appropriate word: a gift more precious in the case of a princess than the most brilliant animation. As already stated, she was not well educated: a little history and geography, with a smattering of Latin and Italian, comprised all of her acquirements. She spoke French correctly; and she loved music, without being a good performer; but she was not fond of reading, or at least of serious literature. She made the most of what knowledge she had: with her the *savoir-faire* took the place of the *savoir*. In fine, she was a woman, a woman to her finger-tips.

In reality, she was good, upright, and honorable; although her praiseworthy qualities were too often compromised by a frivolity, and a love of pleasure, which led her to sacrifice duty and principle to the fantasy of the moment. At this time, however, she gave the impression of a spoiled child, of a child badly brought up, to whom much can be forgiven.

Such were the qualities of the two young people who met for the first time at Compiègne on the 14 May 1770. From there the Court proceeded to Versailles, where the marriage was celebrated on the sixteenth by the Archbishop of Reims. That evening when the wedding party sat down to supper the King remarked to his grandson, "Do not eat too much to-night." To which

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the Dauphin replied, "Why not? I always sleep better after a good supper." He seems to have slept well that night, for the following day, in his diary, in which he recorded regularly the important events of his life, we find only the entry "*Rien*" (Nothing).

During the seven following years he could, without falsehood, repeat the same word every day. It is necessary to refer to this delicate matter because it goes far to explain and to palliate the conduct of Marie-Antoinette during this period of her life. Her husband hardly addressed a word to her for days at a time. In the morning he entered her room for a moment to ask if she had slept well, and then left her, to appear again only at meal-time. No one at the Court could understand this strange neglect of a young and charming bride. The only possible explanation is the timidity and immaturity of the Dauphin.

To celebrate the marriage the King ordered nine days of fêtes. These closed with the too famous day of the 30 May at Paris, which ended in the well-known catastrophe caused by the exhibition of fireworks in the Gardens of the Tuileries. There was a sudden panic among the hundred thousand spectators massed in the Place Louis-Quinze, now the Place de la Concorde, and over one hundred people were killed and nearly a thousand seriously injured. This was the Dauphine's first visit to the capital, and the scene made a very painful impression upon her.

The cataclysm of Lisbon, at the time of her birth, and the disaster of the Place Louis-Quinze, upon the threshold of her married life, were, to say the least, strange coincidences, and might well cause even the least superstitious to dread what Fate might have in store for Marie-Antoinette.

Everything at the début of the new reign was really irreproachable, and Marie-Antoinette appeared to the best advantage. She made a sincere effort to overcome her faults, and tried to win the hearts of her subjects.

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She practiced economy, wore simple toilettes, and endeavored to take a serious interest in affairs. She also made an effort to please her husband, who was so appreciative that he made her a present, for her own private use, of the Petit-Trianon, saying, "This place has always been the séjour of the favorites of the kings; it ought therefore to be your own." Marie-Antoinette inaugurated her new property by giving a dinner to the King and the whole royal family. It was like the beginning of a new honeymoon.

The Queen is proud of her progress, and boasts ingeniously to Mercy-Argenteau, the Austrian ambassador, "You must admit that I have reformed in many ways." She has also gained physically. The rather thin, unformed, little girl has remarkably developed since the day of her marriage. She has perceptibly grown taller; her bust is full and round; her arms are perfect in their contour. She has a new dignity and nobility of bearing which reminds one always that she is the queen of France, even when she makes no pretence of being more than a pretty woman.

In mounting the throne, she has acquired more assurance. Her excellent memory enables her to retain names and faces: a precious gift for sovereigns, which wins them as much love as favors. She captures all hearts by her sincere desire to please.

Since her arrival, she has learned the French language perfectly, and speaks it almost without accent. It is a cause of grief to her mother that she has almost forgotten German.

For all these different reasons, and on account of her really fine qualities, at the beginning of the reign Marie-Antoinette seemed likely to be popular. Young and brilliant, she had succeeded queens who were old and neglected, and this novelty captured the admiration of the nation. Says a contemporary writer, "If one had wished to create a sovereign expressly for the French, one could not have succeeded better." It is rather remarkable that this first success was due to the very qualities which later

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were to cause her to be detested by the nation. For the moment, however, she was popular. Wherever she appeared, in the streets, or at the theatre, in the city or the country, she was received with transports of enthusiasm.

The only shadow upon the life of the Queen at this time was the royal family. No one ever had more unbearable relatives. The elder of the two brothers of the King, *Monsieur*, the Comte de Provence, was at this time very different from the world-wise man, ennobled by misfortune, who was later to occupy the throne as Louis the Eighteenth. A year younger than the King, even more corpulent than he, but with a much finer intellect, he ruined all his gifts of mind by a false and dissimulating character, and a jealous ambition which hesitated at nothing to gain its ends. Marie-Antoinette could not conceal her antipathy for him, and was always on her guard against him.

It is to be regretted that she did not have the same feeling with regard to his younger brother, Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles the Tenth. To be sure, he had a more attractive appearance, but his external advantages were sadly compensated for by a common and vulgar mind, a limited intelligence, and a brutality in conversation which was aggravated by his self-confidence and assurance. He passed his days and nights in carousing and gambling, was always in debt, and continually surrounded by a band of libertines, who flattered him, and compromised his name.

With all his faults, he amused the Queen. He was of the same age, and, like her, was fond of worldly pleasures, and knew how to divert her. They were often seen together, on foot, on horseback, or in carriages, and always whispering or laughing. This intimacy, although entirely innocent, exasperated Mercy, and made the Empress furious. The consequences certainly injured her reputation.

The first prince of the blood, the Duc de Chartres, later known as the Duc d'Orléans, and still later as

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Philippe-Égalité, was the declared enemy of the Queen. At first he had tried to enter into her good graces, and had given balls and dinners in her honor, but nothing could overcome the natural antipathy which Marie-Antoinette felt for this cynical and dissolute prince. Later he became the leader of the faction hostile to the Queen.

It is impossible to give any space to the female members of the family, as they had little to do with the course of events. They comprised the wives of Provence and Artois, both daughters of the King of Sardinia; Mesdames, the three aunts of Louis, and his two sisters, Clotilde and Élisabeth.

Louis the Fifteenth had left four unmarried daughters: Adélaïde, Victoire, Sophie and Louise, whom he called respectively *Loque*, *Coche*, *Graille* and *Chiffe*. At this time they were four ugly, disagreeable old ladies, very different in appearance from the beautiful women shown in the portraits by Nattier in the galleries at Versailles. The youngest daughter, Louise, had retired to a convent at Saint-Denis, and only three were at Court.

Clotilde was so fat that she was generally known as "grosse madame." In 1777 she married the Prince of Piedmont, afterwards King of Sardinia. Élisabeth, who was born at Versailles 3 May 1764, was never married, and was the victim of her tender attachment for the King, her brother.

None of these seven princesses were of the slightest support to Marie-Antoinette, and on the contrary were a source of danger. With their suites, they numbered altogether one hundred women, and their salons were so many centres of gossip and scandal. Among them all the young Queen had not one real friend to guide or advise her.

The enthusiasm which Marie-Antoinette had aroused on her arrival in France lasted in full force until 1775. "Then," writes the Comte de Provence, "it began to

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diminish, and soon was entirely extinguished. It was then that the libels and the songs against her began to appear, and that she was compared to Messalina for debauchery and cruelty." It is now necessary to speak of this sudden and, on the whole, unjust turn-about in the public attitude, which came like a clap of thunder out of a clear sky.

In the life of Marie-Antoinette there was a relatively short space of only three years which settled her fate — the time from 1775 to 1778. This is the period of dissipation, of unlimited pleasures, of endless prodigalities. "In a word," says Ségur, "it was the era of follies, of which the consequences were terrible."

In beginning the story of her indiscretions, it is impossible to pass in silence over the balls of the Opéra, which she attended at first with the King, but where she soon began to go accompanied only by several familiar friends of both sexes. During the month of February 1777 she went as many as six times. She was recognized by the crowd, who familiarly called her "Antoinette," and followed her around the hall. One Sunday morning, returning to Versailles at seven o'clock, in answer to a question as to the hour of mass, she replied with a laugh, "I heard it at Paris." This *mot*, which was naturally repeated, had a most deplorable effect.

In vain Mercy scolded and implored: she only replied to his reproaches by further escapades. She claimed that the King approved of all she did, which was nearly correct: Louis astonished the entire Court by his unlimited complaisance.

Another reproach which was made against the Queen was the great amount of money she spent upon her toilettes. As Dauphine, she had been very reasonable in this respect, but all this was changed as soon as she mounted the throne. Even more grave was her passion for jewelry and rare stones. In January 1776, for example, she paid six hundred thousand francs for some diamond pendants, and six months later, two hundred and fifty thousand for a pair of bracelets.

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Such an example set by the Queen was naturally followed by the Court and in society; the public, not without reason, was offended, and the extravagance and bad taste of Marie-Antoinette were even spoken of in the newspapers.

Her principal fault, however, and the one which did her more harm than all the rest put together, was her passion for gambling, which possessed her for so long, and which even to the last she could never entirely overcome. It cannot be said that play, even high play, was unknown at Versailles. The "jeu du Roi" for more than a century had been an institution of etiquette. It was notorious that during the reigns of the last two kings enormous sums had passed through the hands of the favorites like Montespan and Pompadour, to mention only the two who were best known. But these practices were reserved for the mistresses of the king. Never had a queen of France taken part in any play, except a modest game of whist or loto.

Persuaded by Artois and Chartres, who were confirmed gamblers, the Queen began to play, and soon, what at first had been a pastime, became a ruling passion. Two years later, she no longer had any self-restraint. She played not only in her own rooms, but in all the salons she visited.

One of the deplorable results of this passion was the class of people she introduced at Court. When many of the higher nobility withdrew from the game, frightened by the size of the stakes, she invited a lot of professional gamblers to take part. The Court of France, in the words of her brother Joseph, had become a regular gambling-hell. The greater part of the calumnies from which Marie-Antoinette suffered prior to the final catastrophe had their origin around the green table where she passed all of her nights.

As might naturally be expected, the Queen was soon heavily in debt. At the end of 1776, Mercy, at her request, went over her accounts and found that she owed nearly five hundred thousand livres. She had recourse to

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the King, who generously gave her the entire amount without hesitation and with the best grace in the world.

These facts, which soon became known, and were talked of everywhere, provoked a general outcry. The people were told that Marie-Antoinette had three hundred horses, where the late Queen had half that number, and that consequently her stable cost two hundred thousand livres more; that enormous sums were being spent on the embellishment of Trianon and on the fêtes given there; that the positions created for her familiar friends cost a quarter of a million a year, and so on. Not only were these facts commented on: they were grossly exaggerated. Soon the Queen was regarded, says Provence, in the same light as the mistresses of the late King. When she appeared in public, in place of the former cheers, she was received with a glacial silence, or even with subdued murmurs. A little later she was to be hailed as *Madame Déficit*.

The Empress, in despair, after writing her daughter that she is on the road to ruin, has ceased to lecture, and in her letters speaks only of the "rain and the fine weather." But one hope is left: her son Joseph, the Emperor of Germany, is to make a visit to Paris, under the pretext of seeing France, but in reality to have a serious talk with Marie-Antoinette, and endeavor to persuade her to change her ways.

Joseph the Second, who was fourteen years older than Marie-Antoinette, was the eldest son of Maria Theresa. He succeeded his father as Emperor in 1765, and inherited the dignities and possessions of the House of Austria on the death of his mother in 1780. As head of the family, Joseph had always assumed the right to counsel and direct his younger brothers and sisters — a rôle well suited to his temperament. The prospect of a critical examination of her method of life was far from pleasing to Marie-Antoinette. To the severe reprimands of the Empress she had always been very submissive: she wrote, "She judges me too severely, but she is my mother, who loves me dearly, and when she speaks I



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have only to bow my head." But she was not so willing to listen to fraternal advice.

After long negotiations, it was finally arranged that the Emperor was to travel incognito; that during his stay he was not to discuss with the Queen either public or private affairs, unless she opened the subject; that he was simply to be a looker-on; and that only at the end of his visit was he to make known to his sister the results of his observations.

He arrived at Paris on the 18 April 1777, accompanied only by one aide de camp. Early the following morning, he proceeded to Versailles, where he was received by the Queen in her bedroom. The interview was not very cordial, but the ice was soon broken by the entrance of the King, who was very friendly and simple in his greeting. They dined together in the same room, served without ceremony by the Queen's maids; and the King, contrary to his habitude, took the lead in the conversation. Afterwards Joseph went to a private house in Versailles.

The first days of his visit, Joseph adhered to the program agreed upon, although in the course of a short promenade with his sister at Trianon he spoke to her of the evils of her excessive expenditures and in particular of the dangers of her passion for play. He made no attempt to lecture her, however, and Marie-Antoinette was not offended. On the contrary, she thanked him, and said that she would follow his good advice.

This period of peace did not last long. Gradually Joseph forgot his good resolutions, and reproached his sister for the society which she had chosen, and censured her words, her manners, and her toilettes. At first Marie-Antoinette supported these criticisms with much patience, but finally, under his repeated attacks, she became angry, and told her brother that he was going too far.

Upon one point only, and that the most important of all, Joseph obtained marked concessions; that is with respect to the relations between the Queen and her husband. In spite of the kindness of Louis, a coldness

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had grown up between the young royal couple. For this Louis was more to blame than his wife: from the first he had treated her with a strange neglect. As Marie-Antoinette wrote to her mother: "The indifference is surely not on my side, my situation is very embarrassing." Later, when the Comtesse d'Artois gave birth to a son, she wrote: "It is unnecessary for me to say how much I have suffered to see an heir who is not my own."

First, with his sister, and then with his brother-in-law, Joseph did not hesitate to broach this delicate question. Following these conferences, the Emperor had a secret interview with the royal physician, Lassone, the importance of which was recognized later on. He thus endeavored to bring the young couple closer together, to create a greater intimacy in their daily relations. His efforts were not without success, as will soon appear.

The eve of his departure, fixed for the last day of May, Joseph handed his sister some written instructions, a sort of moral guide for the conduct of her life. These seem to have made a momentary impression on the frivolous mind of Marie-Antoinette, only too soon to be effaced. For a few weeks her life was more serious, but at the end of two months everything was going as before, and if anything even worse. Notably, her passion for gambling had increased. In the course of the following year she lost no less than seventy-five hundred louis.

The only positive result of the Emperor's visit was the "rapprochement conjugal" between the royal pair. A few months after his departure, Louis wrote him confidentially, "I hope that next year will not pass without having given you a nephew or a niece." These hopes were not disappointed. On the 20 December 1778, was born at Versailles a daughter, the future Madame Royale.

Motherhood brought but little change in Marie-Antoinette, although her life was somewhat quieter and less dissipated than before. She no longer went to the public balls or played for such high stakes, and her

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toilettes were more simple. She was also less intimate with the Comte d'Artois.

It is just for us to give Marie-Antoinette credit for her improvement, but unfortunately her contemporaries could not do so. Her reputation was made: nothing now could change it. Even her maternity, which had produced such happy effects, was regarded by the public generally as a proof of her immorality; and when, according to custom, she traversed Paris to render public thanks to God at the ancient cathedral of Notre-Dame, she was greeted with a reception so icy, and in places even so hostile, that she could not help shedding tears. The "Era of Follies" was over, she was soon to enter on that of sadness.

CHAPTER THREE

1778-1787

THE QUEEN'S FRIENDS

Madame Dillon — Princesse de Lamballe — Comtesse de Polignac — Princesse de Guéméné — Madame de Polignac, *Gouvernante* — The Petit-Trianon — The Queen's Illness — Her Strange Attendants — The Affair of the Necklace — The Queen's Admirers — Comte de Fersen — His First Meeting with the Queen — His Residence in London — Return to Paris — Love for the Queen — Absence in America — Second Return to France — Liaison with Marie-Antoinette — Their Correspondence

THE injury done to the reputation of Marie-Antoinette by her excessive love of pleasure and high play was to be greatly increased by her unfortunate choice of friends — the society with which she surrounded herself. Her craving for friendship was natural, and in itself blameless, but she was not happy in the persons she selected. The members of the royal family and nearly all of the Court party were hostile to her; she was therefore forced to seek her friends outside.

From the time of her arrival at Versailles to the beginning of her intimacy with the Comtesse de Polignac, these friendships of Marie-Antoinette were very superficial and of very short duration. Born of the caprice of the moment, they were soon affairs of the past. Such was the Queen's fancy for Madame Dillon, one of her "dames du palais." Madame Dillon was very beautiful, and the angelic sweetness of her character caused her to be loved by everybody. She was tall and slender, with an attractive face, and a voice which, in the words of Besenval, "expressed the softness of her soul." Unfortunately she was cursed with an ambitious, intriguing mother, Madame de Rothe, who endeavored to

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take advantage of the credit of her daughter to obtain favors for her family. This caused a temporary coldness between the Queen and her friend, but there was a return later to the former intimacy, which was finally broken by the premature death of Madame Dillon in all the bloom of her youth. She was the mother of the future Marquise de La Tour du Pin, the author of the "Recollections of the Revolution and the Empire."

Of a somewhat different character was the intimacy of the Queen with the Princesse de Lamballe, which, if not the most tender, nor the most confidential, was at least the longest in the life of Marie-Antoinette. She was about six years older than the Queen, the daughter of the Prince de Savoie-Carignan, and the widow of the degenerate Prince de Lamballe, who had died as the result of his life of dissipation, after a short year of matrimony. If she was unhappy in her marriage, it was her good fortune to have for a father-in-law the Duc de Penthièvre, the brightest and best example of the old nobility of France.

The Duc de Penthièvre was the only child of the Comte de Toulouse, the legitimatized son of Louis the Fourteenth and Madame de Montespan. The death of his father in 1737 put him in possession, at the age of twelve, of the great charges of that prince, those of Admiral of France, of *Grand Veneur*, and of Governor of Bretagne. In 1742, he made his first campaign; was named lieutenant-general the following year; and in 1745 distinguished himself at the battle of Fontenoy. The deaths of his two cousins, and of his mother, made him one of the richest princes of France, uniting in his person the fortunes of the two illegitimate branches of Louis the Fourteenth. Besides his son, Lamballe, he had a daughter, Marie, who married in 1769 the Duc de Chartres (Égalité), but the union was not a happy one.

The Princesse lived in the mansion of the Duc at Versailles on the footing of an adopted daughter, and when her period of mourning was over she reappeared

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at Court. Her charm at that time still lives for us in Hickel's portrait, and attracts us with its delicate loveliness. Without being regularly beautiful, or perfectly formed, she was grace itself, with an elegant and supple figure. Her features were fine, her blue eyes were frank and innocent, her complexion dazzling, and her golden hair has been compared to the tresses which crown the heads of Raphael's Madonnas. She has been described as a "model of all the Virtues," and in her pictures she certainly personifies youth, candor and innocence. What she lacked in intellect, she made up for by her gaiety, her kindness and her sympathy. She was a good listener and readily absorbed the ideas of others. Fond of life and society, of balls and fêtes, she was born to please Marie-Antoinette.

They met for the first time during the Carnival of 1771 at a ball given in honor of the Dauphine, were at once attracted to each other, and became inseparable friends. The Princesse was soon the chosen companion of Marie-Antoinette in all her promenades and her parties, both by night and day. During the period of mourning after the death of the King, the Princesse was the only person outside of the royal family who was received by the young sovereigns. At this time the two young girls were absolutely inseparable.

It was then that the project was formed of reviving for Madame de Lamballe the extravagant post of Superintendent of the Household — a plan carried into effect the following year. This position, originally created by Mazarin for his niece, Olympe Mancini, had been abolished by Fleury during the last reign, as it was not only very costly, but also a subject of dissension among the high dignitaries of the Court. Turgot, who was finding extreme difficulty in restoring order to the finances, was strongly opposed to the plan, but the Queen was determined, and finally carried her point. The salary, which formerly had been 45,000 livres, was increased to 150,000, and the public grumbled when the news became official two months later.

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At the very moment that the Princesse de Lamballe seemed at the height of her favor with the Queen, her influence began to decline. There were numerous reasons for this. Both the Comte de Provence and Madame de Genlis state that it was due to her lack of intelligence. Mercy accuses her of awkward blunders in her new position, which made the life of the Court miserable and caused general discontent. Although a charming companion for parties of pleasure, she did not have the *savoir faire* to fill successfully a very difficult post. The real reason, however, for her loss of favor seems to have been the growing attachment of the Queen for her new affinity, the Comtesse de Polignac. She had not room in her heart for two great affections of the same kind.

The Princesse, nevertheless, did not abandon the field without a fight, and for several months the Court was divided into two hostile camps. But the contest was too unequal to last long. By the following spring, Madame de Polignac had gained the victory, and the salon of the Princesse was practically deserted.

The new friend of the Queen, Yolande de Polastron, had married Comte Jules de Polignac, a member of an impoverished but noble family, which counted among its representatives a celebrated cardinal who had been a faithful servant of the royal family. The young couple were so poor that they passed most of the year on a small estate in the country, only coming for a few months to Versailles, where they occupied a modest apartment. They rarely went to the Court until Comtesse Diane de Polignac, the sister of Jules, was appointed a lady of the household of the Comtesse d'Artois, and took up her residence at the Château. The Queen first noticed Madame de Polignac at one of the summer balls in June 1775, and was at once attracted to her.

The Comtesse, of whom there is a pleasing portrait by Madame Vigée-Lebrun, was a charming woman. Neither her form nor her features were perfect, but she combined intelligent expression with infinite gentleness:

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never did any demeanor reveal more modesty, reserve and propriety.

Madame Campan says that she was of medium size; her complexion very fair, her hair dark brown, her teeth of dazzling whiteness, her smile enchanting, and her whole person beaming with grace. She always dressed very simply, and rarely wore any jewels. Her sincere attachment to the Queen, as much as her love of simplicity, led her to avoid everything which might give the impression that she was a costly favorite. She was entirely free from jealousy, and kept on good terms with the persons who shared the Queen's affections. It was a long time before she maintained any great state at Court. The Queen never made her any valuable presents, but she assigned her a fine suite of apartments at the top of the Marble Staircase.

Although Madame de Polignac possessed neither wit, judgment nor character, to justify the dominion she gained over the Queen, she was soon the "depository of all the thoughts" of Marie-Antoinette. This intimacy, which lasted for more than fifteen years, had a most baneful effect upon the Queen's future.

In the contest for the Queen's favor, the Princesse de Lamballe had the support of Artois, the Duc de Chartres, and of all the Palais-Royal party. The chief partisans of the Comtesse were Vaudreuil, Adhémar and Besenval.

The Comte de Vaudreuil was still young, with a charming face and a fine mind. With all that, he had a very despotic character, and absolutely dominated Madame de Polignac, who trembled at his slightest word. Consumed with ambition, he was indefatigable in demanding positions and favors for himself and his friends. To the great scandal of the Court, he received at the same time a pension of 30,000 livres from the royal Treasury, an estate of equal value from the Comte d'Artois, and a lodging in the Château of Versailles below the apartment occupied by Madame de Polignac.

Comte d'Adhémar was sufficiently adroit to reach the same end by quieter methods. For years he had vegetated

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in an obscure provincial city, occupied in genealogical researches, from which resulted the title he bore. A marriage with a rich widow, his handsome face and courtly manners, joined to the friendship of Vaudreuil, accomplished the rest. He claimed that he could gain any end he desired by means of female influence, and proved his assertion by securing the position of ambassador to London through the influence of Madame de Polignac and the Queen, against the opposition of the Ministry and the wishes of the King, who finally yielded.

Of that curious personage, Baron de Besenval, mention will be made later. This brilliant society met at the house of the Princesse de Guéméné. While these gatherings were supposed to be only social events, those present did not hesitate to discuss affairs of State, and to give the Queen interested advice — in short, to exploit her. This Polignac clique was harmful not only to Marie-Antoinette, but also to the Monarchy.

At first the Comtesse asked no gifts from the Queen, but soon the golden shower began. In a few years the Polignac family had a total income of half a million livres. To give two examples only: the father of Comte Jules was made ambassador to Switzerland, in order to get him away from Versailles, where his stupidity was embarrassing to his children; and his sister Diane was made lady-in-waiting to Madame Élisabeth, although the freedom of her life was a subject of scandal. Other relatives were, one after another, given offices and reversions, much to the disgust of the Rohans, the Noailles, the Montmorencys, and other great families who felt themselves slighted.

By nature, neither the Queen nor her confidante had any *penchant* for intrigue, and it was most unfortunate that they should have fallen under the influences of a small group of men without scruples who exploited them unmercifully. Not only did the Queen admit the favorite to her own intimate circle, but she entered the society of the Comtesse and adopted all of her friends. She passed the greater part of her days in the rooms of the Comtesse,

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where there reigned a complete absence of etiquette, or, in the words of Marie-Antoinette, "confidence and liberty."

Before the Queen assigned to her the large suite which she afterwards occupied in the Château, the quarters of Madame de Polignac were too small to receive so many people. Therefore the "Society" met in the apartment of the Princesse de Rohan-Guéméné, the *Gouvernante* of the royal children, who was a friend both of the Queen and of the favorite. This arrangement was unfortunate, and the consequences were grave.

Madame de Guéméné was the daughter of the Maréchal de Soubise, and the sister of the Prince de Condé. In 1761 she married her cousin, Prince de Rohan-Guéméné. She was now separated from her husband, and the acknowledged mistress of the Duc de Coigny. In spite of her birth and her rank, she did not bear a very good reputation at Versailles.

The company which she received was very mixed. Disgruntled politicians and women of doubtful reputation mingled with the highest and best of the old nobility. Play was high, and conversation was loose. Several times a week, after the King had retired, about eleven o'clock, Marie-Antoinette appeared, and was at once surrounded by the friends of the Princesse, who did their best to flatter and amuse her.

In the month of October 1782, the Prince de Guéméné, who had been one of the most ardent admirers of Madame Dillon, announced his failure for the enormous sum of thirty-three million livres. The scandal was great: the Prince was banished from Court, and the Princesse was obliged to resign her position and find refuge in a country château.

To the intense surprise and indignation of nearly the entire Court, the vacant post was filled by the appointment of Madame de Polignac. Besenval first suggested the idea to the Queen, who, without much trouble, obtained the King's consent. No choice could have been more deplorable. Until now the Comtesse had been

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simply the intimate friend of the Queen, without any official position. Now she was given a charge which had always been reserved for the highest nobility of France. Not only were these great families offended, but the people murmured at seeing the Dauphin, the heir to the throne, confided to the charge of one who was generally regarded as the evil genius of the Queen. The unpopularity of the favorite increased that of the Queen, and hurried the sovereign towards the abyss.

In 1779, Marie-Antoinette had an attack of the measles, and then for the first time took up her abode at the Petit-Trianon, which the King had presented to her four years before. This rural retreat owed its origin to a whim of Louis the Fifteenth. The fancy of Madame de Pompadour converted it into a farm, with cows and chickens and a kitchen-garden. Here the King and his mistress, with a select party of friends of both sexes, played at pastoral life, as a change from the tiresome etiquette of Versailles.

The château, which had been planned for the Pompadour, was not built until the advent of Madame du Barry. It was intended to be a miniature of the Grand-Trianon, as that palace had been modelled after Versailles. The gift of this fairy palace was very welcome to Marie-Antoinette, who accepted it with the one odd condition that the King was never to come there except upon her express invitation.

The place became Marie-Antoinette's pet plaything. Her mania for an Anglo-Chinese garden was only the beginning of a series of costly experiments, which soon brought her in conflict with Turgot on the question of expense, and his fall was largely due to her hostility. At the Trianon only the personal liveries of the Queen were to be seen, and all orders and notices were issued in her name. All etiquette was banished, and the life at the château was one continual round of dancing, gambling and dissipation of every kind.

But the maddest of all the Queen's wild escapades

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was during this attack of measles, when it was thought best that she should leave Versailles and go to Trianon, so as not to expose the King. What followed would seem incredible if we did not have it on the best of authority. She chose for the attendants in her sick-chamber, not as might be expected four of her court ladies, but four gentlemen! These strange attendants were the Duc de Coigny, the Duc de Guines, Comte Esterhazy and Baron de Besenval — all four men of the worst possible reputations.

The Duc de Coigny was about forty years of age. He was not particularly good-looking, nor very intelligent, but was generally popular on account of his good-nature and his polished manners. He was cordially detested by Mercy because of his influence over the Queen, and by Madame de Polignac for the same reason.

Guines, who was corrupt and unscrupulous, dominated by his assurance the Polignac salon and the society of the Queen. He had been ambassador to the Court of Saint James's, and aspired to take the place of Maurepas and govern the kingdom. But he carried his dominating attitude too far, and lost his credit with the Queen. He had to be content with a *duché à brevet*, and the dubious glory of having contributed powerfully to the fall of Turgot.

Esterhazy was a young Hungarian soldier who stood high in the graces of Marie-Antoinette, who delighted to pay his debts. He seems to have been rather commonplace, and comparatively harmless.

The most amazing personage of the quartet was the Baron de Besenval. He was a Swiss, nearly sixty years of age, white-haired, gallant, courtly, cynical, sentimental, disinterested for himself, but an indefatigable seeker of favors for others. He had gained a great influence over the Queen, and was said to use it for the perversion of her mind. He was the most dangerous of the band.

There is nothing in the history of the Old Régime more curious than the story of this royal illness, during

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which the Queen was attended in her bedchamber by four men remarkable alike for their profligacy and the favors they had received at her hands. What opinion can one form of a young woman of twenty-four who was nursed during her illness by four courtiers, all of whom were considered by the public to be her lovers? They had arranged to take turns in watching over the patient during the entire twenty-four hours, and it was due only to the intervention of Mercy that this plan was modified so that they left her room at eleven at night and returned at seven in the morning.

In 1785 occurred the celebrated "Affair of the Necklace," known in France as the "Collier de la Reine." The principal characters in this comedy, which came so near to being a tragedy for the French Monarchy, were:

Boëhmer	The Court Jeweller
Cardinal de Rohan	Grand-Almoner of France
Comte Cagliostro	An Italian Charlatan
Comtesse de la Motte	A Clever Adventuress
Baronne d'Oliva	A Street-Walker
Marie-Antoinette	Queen of France

The person who heads the cast was the senior member of the great house of Boëhmer and Bassenge, the leading diamond merchants of Paris.

The Cardinal-Prince de Rohan, Bishop of Strasbourg, and Grand-Almoner of France, was a type of all that was worst in the clergy. As ambassador at Vienna, when Marie-Antoinette was the Dauphine, he had greatly displeased the Empress by his profligacy, his mad extravagance, his tactlessness and foolishness. Marie-Antoinette shared her mother's antipathy for him, and in spite of all his attempts the Cardinal had never succeeded in gaining access to her. He was now over fifty, with a high bald forehead, white hair, a red complexion, and a tall, stately presence. This descendant of a chivalrous house, this prince of a great Church, was merely a profoundly depraved, lustful voluptuary.

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The so-called "Comte Cagliostro," whose real name was Joseph Balsamo, was an Italian imposter. As a youth he picked up some knowledge of chemistry and medicine; and later, in Germany, he was a pupil of Mesmer, the great exponent of Animal Magnetism, to which he has given his name. After extensive travels over Europe he settled about 1780 at Paris where he posed as a physician, philosopher and alchemist, and did a lively business in his "elixir of immortal youth."

Madame de la Motte claimed to be descended in a direct line from the House of Valois through one of the amours of Henri Deux. For this august claim she received a small pension from the State. She was married to a rascal known as the Comte de la Motte. She professed to be a confidante of the Queen, and made a great impression on Rohan. She was the author and the stage-manager of the play.

The so-called "Baronne d'Oliva" was a street-walker by the name of Marie-Nicole Leguay, whom the Motte woman picked up at the Palais-Royal and engaged for the cast on account of her resemblance to the Queen.

The Comtesse was aware that Bœhmer had put all his capital into a single piece of jewelry worth more than a million and a half of livres: a necklace of incomparable diamonds which only a princess could buy. She also knew, like every one else, that Marie-Antoinette had a passion for gems, and could never have too many.

Out of such seemingly incongruous elements, Madame de la Motte wove the plot of a play as romantic as any ever written by Dumas or Sardou. She it was who conceived the scene in the grove. One evening the Cardinal was conducted to Versailles, where in the twilight he saw in the Gardens a woman who had the form and bearing of the Queen. It was Oliva of the Palais-Royal. She dropped a rose, and murmured some words which led Rohan to think that the Queen had pardoned him.

After this, the Motte woman told the Cardinal that Marie-Antoinette wanted to buy the necklace and had

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chosen him to negotiate the affair secretly. Then she forged instructions for the purchase, signing the orders, "Marie-Antoinette *de France*," although the Queen never signed her name in that way; but Rohan was too foolish to note the mistake.

Rohan bought the necklace on credit and gave it to an emissary of the Comtesse whom he supposed to be a servant of the Queen. Madame de la Motte kept the collier, and sold the stones separately for an enormous sum. Marie-Antoinette was ignorant of the whole matter until six months later, the first of August, when Bœhmer, who was in danger of failure, began to press the Queen for payment of his claims. She was naturally very angry, and in her desire for revenge did not stop to reason.

The scene of the last act of the drama was the Château of Versailles, and the time the 15 August, the solemn festival of the Assumption. The Cardinal de Rohan, as Grand-Almoner of France, was there ready to say Mass, in a cassock of watered scarlet silk, when he was summoned to the presence of the King.

"What have you done with the diamonds you purchased of Bœhmer?" demanded the King.

"I thought they had been delivered to the Queen."

"Who commissioned you?"

"The Comtesse de la Motte, who handed me a letter from the Queen."

"How, sir," interrupted the Queen, "could you believe that I should select *you*, to whom I have not spoken for eight years, to negotiate anything for me, and especially through the mediation of such a woman?"

"I see plainly," said the Cardinal, "that I have been duped; I will pay for the necklace. My desire to be of service to Your Majesty blinded me: I suspected no trick in the affair, and I am sorry for it."

The anxious crowd, waiting in the Œil-de-Bœuf, could not understand why the procession for the Chapel did not start. Suddenly the door of the inner room was opened, and Rohan appeared, pale and trembling, fol-

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lowed by Breteuil, who cried to the captain of the Guard, "Arrest Monsieur le Cardinal!"

The next day the Grand-Almoner was in the Bastille. At his trial before the Parlement, Rohan was acquitted, on the ground that he had been the dupe of the Comtesse de la Motte, who alone was condemned. When she underwent the degrading punishment of being publicly branded, popular sympathy was on her side and against Marie-Antoinette. Seeing that the Cardinal was innocent, the mass of the people thought the Queen guilty. As Goethe says, Marie-Antoinette then lost in the minds of the public that moral support which made her person inviolable.

The question has often been raised, whether a young and charming woman like Marie-Antoinette, who certainly did not love her husband, and who was constantly surrounded by temptation, was always able to keep her many declared lovers within the bounds of platonic friendship. The subject is a delicate one to treat, and a very difficult one to settle. In the case of most of the names which have been mentioned in this connection there is absolutely no proof; in other cases the evidence is so slight that it will not bear examination. The only real romance in the life of Marie-Antoinette seems to have been her love for the Comte de Fersen. Interesting documents, discovered recently, have thrown much light upon this simple and touching history.

Jean de Fersen belonged to an old and distinguished Swedish family. He was the son of a field-marshal, and was born on the fourth of September 1755, just two months before Marie-Antoinette. He first met the Dauphine at a ball given at Versailles in January 1774 when they were both nineteen years of age. At this time he was tall and well-formed, with fine, regular features. His eyes were blue, and his hair blond. In the words of Madame de Boigne, "Il etait beau comme un ange!" For his age, he was very calm and quiet, and appeared to have more judgment than animation. He was so



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different from the frivolous young fops of the Court of Versailles, that he first attracted the attention of Marie-Antoinette, then interested her, and ended by winning her completely.

In his journal Fersen thus tells the story of this first meeting: "I went to the ball of Madame la Dauphine; the ball began as usual at five o'clock and ended at nine-thirty. I returned immediately to Paris." The last of the same month he saw her again at the Opéra ball. He writes: "Madame la Dauphine talked with me for a long time without my recognizing her. Finally, when she made herself known, everybody paid her a great deal of attention, and she retired to her *loge*. At three o'clock, I left the ball." During the course of the following weeks, the Dauphine and the "beau Suédois," as he was called at Versailles, met very frequently.

After the death of the King, on the 10 May 1774, Fersen went to London to live and did not return to France until four years later. During his residence in England there was a project of his marriage with a London heiress, but she finally refused him, much to his disappointment. On his return he at once presented himself at Court, where he was warmly greeted by the Queen, as an old acquaintance. This was the beginning of the great romance in the life of Marie-Antoinette.

At this time he wrote his father that the Queen was the most beautiful and amiable princess in the world. Two months later he wrote that he saw her frequently and that she always received him with kindness. One day she expressed the wish to see him in his Swedish uniform, which was very becoming, and he wrote that he was going, thus attired, not to the Court, but to call on the Queen personally. It was not long before he was present at all the reunions of the "Society," and his unconcealed admiration for the Queen was received by her with a smiling indulgence.

The exact state of affairs at this time is clearly revealed in a confidential letter from Comte de Creutz to the King of Sweden, under date of April 1779: "I

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must confide to Your Majesty that the young Comte de Fersen has been so well received by the Queen that this has disgruntled many persons. I admit that I cannot help believing that she has been much taken with him; I have seen too many sure signs of this fact to doubt it. Under the circumstances the young Comte has conducted himself with modesty and reserve, and has decided to go to America. In leaving, he avoids all dangers; but, to overcome this seduction evidently calls for a firmness remarkable in one of his age."

Fersen had indeed decided to flee temptation and join the expeditionary force of Rochambeau which was sailing for America. The parting was very sad. Creutz writes that during the final days the Queen could not take her eyes away from Fersen, and that they filled with tears every time she looked at him. All the other favorites were delighted at his departure. The Duchesse de Fitz-James said maliciously, "Is it possible, Monsieur, that you can thus abandon your conquest?"

The young Swede did not return to France until three years later, after peace was concluded. As a recompense for his services in America he was anxious to obtain a French regiment. He asked his sister to secure his father's consent; the King of Sweden wrote a pressing letter to Louis the Sixteenth, and Marie-Antoinette warmly seconded the request. With such endorsements the favor was easily accorded, and Fersen was appointed colonel of the regiment of Royal-Suédois.

When he returned to Paris in 1783, he seemed much older; his face showed the traces of the three years of danger and suffering through which he had passed, and he had lost much of his former good looks. But this only made him the more interesting, and especially so in the eyes of Marie-Antoinette. From this moment she seems to have abandoned herself without reserve to the love which filled her heart. She frequently received him in her apartment, and had long conversations with him tête-à-tête. All that was in her power to give, she freely gave to him. It was the happiest period of their lives.

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"He only breathes for her," writes a contemporary, "and all the habits of his life are so arranged as to compromise her as little as possible."

It is certain that Fersen and the Queen exchanged many letters. A large part of this correspondence has been published, but most of the letters belong to the period of the Revolution and refer only to public matters; besides, many passages are omitted. One private letter only, written probably in 1791, has survived. In this Marie-Antoinette says: "I wish to tell you that I love you, and that I have time for nothing else. Let me know to whom I should address the letters that I am able to write you, for I can no longer live without that. Adieu, the best loved and the most loving of men. I embrace you with all my heart."

In 1787, Fersen was recalled to his native land by the war between Sweden and Russia. He returned to France only occasionally, and, after the beginning of the Revolution, on secret missions. His rôle during this terrible period will be referred to later in the proper time and place. Suffice it to say here that he was present at Versailles during the October days, and that it was he who, two years later, arranged the flight to Varennes.

CHAPTER FOUR

1774-1789

THE KING'S MINISTERS

The Advent of Louis the Sixteenth — Maurepas, First Minister — Vergennes, Foreign Affairs — Turgot, Finance — His Career — His Program — The Coronation — The "Man with the Iron Mask" — The Queen's Meddling — Public Indignation — Fall of Turgot — Saint-Germain, War Minister — Necker, Controller — The American War — French Triumphs — Necker Resigns — Attitude of the Queen — Death of Maurepas — Beaumarchais' Play — Calonne, Controller — His Prodigality — Assembly of the Notables — Brienne, Controller — Conflict with the Paris Parlement — Discredit of the Queen — Necker Recalled.

THE advent of Louis the Sixteenth was welcomed with joy throughout France. Although he had thus far taken no part in public affairs, the young monarch was known to be honest, and the public believed that he would investigate the finances, reform abuses, and reduce the burden of taxation.

His first acts confirmed this favorable impression. He sent two hundred thousand livres to the poor of Paris, and renounced the *Joyeux Avènement*, a grant given the king at his accession, which under Louis the Fifteenth had cost twenty million francs. The Queen also refused to accept the *Droit de Ceinture*, which was a tax levied in Paris every third year on wine, coal, and other commodities. These gifts, from long usage, had become subjects of prescriptive right.

The King and Queen took up their residence at La Muette, and walked daily in the Bois de Boulogne, where they were cheered as soon as they were seen. The public enthusiasm was loyal and sincere, and Louis tried hard to deserve it. This idea guided him in the choice of his

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ministers. His first appointment, however, was not a happy one: Maurepas returned to power.

Comte de Maurepas, who was born in the first year of the century, had occupied the position of Secretary of the King's Household at the age of seventeen. In 1749 he was disgraced for having written some insolent verses about the Pompadour. Perhaps this fact recommended him to Louis, who thought that he had found an honest man. In reality he had made a selection destined to be disastrous to the State. Maurepas returned from exile, and was received at Choisy on the 13 May. His title was to be Minister of State, without a portfolio.

It was feared that the Duc d'Aiguillon would remain in power, but the Queen desired his fall, and he was compelled to resign on the first of June. He was replaced in the Foreign Office by the Comte de Vergennes, who had distinguished himself in the embassy at Constantinople, and was then at Stockholm. He was full of zeal, but was thought to be prudent and safe, and the appointment was generally approved. A most favorable impression was made by the selection of Turgot for Controller-General of the Finances.

The great Turgot, who came of an excellent family of Normandie, was born in Paris on the 10 May 1727. He was educated at the Collège Louis-le-Grand. When he was only sixteen he attended the theological lectures at the Sorbonne, and passed his examinations with conspicuous ability. As the Abbé de Laulne, a name taken from a paternal estate, he rose from success to success. He was urged by his friends to enter the Church, but at the age of twenty-three he left the Sorbonne, and the last thirty years of his life were devoted to public affairs. During this period he occupied many important positions, and at the same time was prominent in Parisian society. He was deeply in love with the beautiful Mademoiselle de Liènevillle and it has always been a mystery why he did not marry her. She afterwards became the wife of the wise Helvétius, and she and Turgot remained friends all their lives.

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In August 1761, Turgot was appointed Intendant of Limoges, and for the next thirteen years he devoted himself to the administration of one of the poorest provinces of France. At that time France was divided into forty military divisions, called Provinces, under the command of a governor, and thirty-five administrative units called "généralités," under the direction of an intendant. The latter official had charge of the police and the militia, and in a general way looked after the civil administration, much like the present prefects.

In this position Turgot was a great success: never before had such an intendant been known. He won the love of the peasantry by protecting them against the oppression of the nobility. He endeavored to improve taxation and to secure the free circulation of grain. At the end of the thirteen years he had made his mark on public opinion, and was generally regarded in France as the champion of reform. Such was the man whom the King now selected for the position of cabinet minister.

Turgot needed all of his rare ability and courage as he faced his new task. The continuance of the large annual deficits could mean nothing less than ultimate bankruptcy of the State. He announced his program to the King in the words: "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no more borrowing." He hoped to reform the finances by effecting strict economies in expenditures; and at the same time to increase the receipts from taxes by developing agriculture, industry and commerce, through a new régime of liberty from oppressive restrictions.

Turgot had the moral energy which Louis lacked, but he had no knowledge of men, and he took into account neither their passions nor their virtues. It has been said that "he formed all his judgments by himself, and public opinion had no influence over him." He sincerely wished to do good, but he was determined to do it only in his own way.

Pursuant to his policy of economy Turgot tried to make some changes in the costly coronation ceremony which was

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to be celebrated at Reims on the 11 June 1775. He suggested that the coronation should take place at Paris, but it was decided to follow the usual custom. All the love which the people at that time felt for the King was shown at this ceremony, and he was greeted with cheers even in the interior of the cathedral.

As soon as the King was finally settled at Versailles, he occupied himself with examining and arranging his grandfather's papers. He had promised Marie-Antoinette to communicate to her all that he might discover relative to the history of the "Man with the Iron Mask," the celebrated state prisoner who always wore a mask of black velvet, and who died in the Bastille in November 1703. The story of this mysterious personage has always excited a romantic curiosity in the minds of students of history. Voltaire treated the matter historically, but did nothing to unravel the mystery. There have been first and last at least a dozen explanations as to the identity of the prisoner, and over seventy books have been written on the subject. The most plausible and most interesting story is the one given in a celebrated romance of Dumas, that the prisoner was a twin brother of Louis the Fourteenth. The papers of the late King apparently threw no light on the question, which even to the present day remains one of the mysteries of history.

The biographers of Marie-Antoinette have always maintained that the Queen had a horror of politics and that she never interfered in public affairs except when constrained by the solicitations of her friends. "Like many legends," says Ségur, "this one contains elements of truth and error." It is certain that Marie-Antoinette in the beginning was too frivolous to be deeply interested in affairs of State, and it is equally certain that she was constantly importuned to do so by the "Society" which surrounded her. But when she had on two or three occasions carried her point; when she had overturned a min-

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ister, or secured a place for a friend, she developed a taste for this new game. But she was never able to follow any political line, to look above personalities and consider the true interests of the country and the Monarchy. With her, ideas were always subordinated to prejudices, and policy to sentiment. Habituated to judge events as well as persons by their small sides, she carried this tendency into the management of public affairs.

A dangerous result of her course was the public indignation which it provoked. "The most gallant people in the world," remarks the Comte de Provence, "were never able to endure being governed by a woman." From the time of the regency of Anne of Austria to the days of the Second Empire, the French nation has always resented female influence in affairs of State. All of the vices of Louis the Fifteenth had not made his name so unpopular as his yielding the helm to the notorious Pompadour.

During the first seven years of the reign, the principal obstacle to the unlimited power of the Queen was Maurepas, the first minister, the King's chosen "mentor." All of the address, all of the concessions of the aged minister could not overcome her antipathy to him.

The first victory gained by the Queen was in obtaining the dismissal of Turgot in May 1776. She never had liked the great Controller-General, from whom France expected so much. His person was not agreeable to her, and his manners were objectionable. His efforts at economy aroused her resentment. He also incurred the enmity of the "Society" by opposing a pension which Marie-Antoinette had persuaded the King to grant to an aunt of Madame de Polignac.

The Polignac band vowed vengeance, and laid its plans carefully to secure the dismissal of the hated minister. At the suggestion of Besenval it was decided to bring about a reconciliation between the Queen and Maurepas, and secure the support of the first minister, who was secretly jealous of the Controller-General. Besenval undertook the task of winning over Maurepas; Madame

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de Polignac took charge of the Queen, and they were both successful.

The plot having been formed, it remained to find a good occasion to put it into execution. This was furnished by the recall of Comte de Guines from London where he had been ambassador to the Court of St. James's. On the eve of the war with Great Britain the Comte had quarrelled with the Spanish ambassador and thus endangered the "family pact," and the Spanish alliance. Upon the advice of Vergennes, warmly seconded by Turgot, Guines was ordered home.

The Polignac clan was at once up in arms. They employed all possible means to gain their end, even going so far as to forge letters, in imitation of the writing of Turgot, which were disrespectful to the King and harmful to Marie-Antoinette. The Queen herself was a dupe, and her rage knew no bounds. She tormented Louis night and day, until the poor weak monarch yielded to the storm, and agreed not only to dismiss the great minister, who might perhaps have saved his crown, but also to give Guines reparation in the form of a ducal title. The Queen even went so far as to demand that Turgot be sent to the Bastille, and it was only with great difficulty that she was dissuaded from this act of folly.

Turgot received an order from the King to return his portfolio and to leave Versailles at once, without the privilege of an interview or any opportunity for an explanation. "The dismissal of Turgot," says Ségur, "was, in a political sense, the first great error of the Queen: no other mistake she made was more fatal to the country, or should, in the eyes of history, weigh more heavily upon the memory of Marie-Antoinette."

Turgot left the ministry with dignity. In a letter to the King he said: "My greatest hope is that you may come to know that I am wrong and that I have warned you of chimerical dangers. I trust that time may not justify me."

After the death of Comte de Mury, in October 1775, Saint-Germain was put at the head of the War Office.

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During the short two years that he held this position he introduced many reforms in the army. He suppressed a part of the King's military household, and added 40,000 men to the army without increased cost to the Treasury. He reformed the École Militaire at Paris, which a few years later was to turn out the greatest soldier of modern times. To him France was largely indebted for her efficient army at the beginning of the Revolutionary wars. But he had the usual fate of reformers under the Old Régime, and was obliged to retire in September 1777.

Clugny, who became Controller-General after the fall of Turgot, died a few months later, and was succeeded by Necker, one of the greatest personalities of the reign.

Jacques Necker, who was born at Geneva in 1732, was still comparatively a young man. He had made a large fortune as managing partner in Paris of the great banking house of Thelusson and Necker. In 1764 he had married Suzanne Curchod, the daughter of a Swiss pastor at Lausanne, who had at one time been engaged to one of her father's pupils, the great historian Edward Gibbon. She was an accomplished and ambitious woman, and made Necker withdraw from active business, to enter politics.

Necker was a striking-looking man, with piercing brown eyes, under arched and bushy eyebrows. He already showed signs of that corpulence which in later years was to cause the Court to smile behind his back. His efforts at wit were as ponderous as his body. He was conceited and vain-glorious, and was always fishing for compliments. Yet with all his foibles Necker was a great banker; if a financier could have saved the situation he would have done so, but France at that time needed a statesman, and that Necker never was.

Necker took office in June 1777 and remained in power for four years. One of his first acts was to float a large loan, which was justified by the approaching war with Great Britain, and was a great success. On the fourth day of July 1776 the American colonies had declared

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their independence of the mother-country. France, which was anxious to wipe out the disgrace of the Seven Years' War, was won to their cause, and the operations in America form the one bright page in the annals of Louis the Sixteenth. The King was ably represented by Vergennes, who conducted the diplomatic negotiations, and by the Marquis de La Fayette and a large number of French officers who crossed the Atlantic and fought bravely by the side of the Americans.

Franklin was sent to France, and his dignity and affable manners won the regard of the King and the Court. In February 1778 he secured the signature of a treaty, which later became an alliance, between France and the United States.

When Franklin was presented at Court on the 20 March, the handsome old man made a picturesque appearance, with his spectacles and bald head. He wore a brown coat, and carried a stick in place of a sword. He made an excellent impression on the King and the ministers.

While the war lasted there was a complete renewal of confidence in the French armies, and in the King and Vergennes. The journeys of the Court were given up, and strict economies were enforced. Subscriptions were made by private individuals to help meet the heavy expenses of the government. Necker was successful in making many retrenchments in the budget.

In February 1779 La Fayette returned from America to secure new troops to help the insurgents. He was successful in obtaining 4000 men, under the command of Rochambeau. At this time new appointments were made in the Navy and War departments. The Marquis de Castries, father-in-law of the Duc de Guines, was made Minister of the Marine. Although he owed his position to favoritism, he justified the appointment by his able services.

The Marquis de Ségur became Minister of War, and he also distinguished himself by many excellent reforms. The chief reproach that can be brought against him was his support of caste. He issued rigid orders that no one

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should be eligible to the rank of officer unless he could prove his nobility for four generations.

In the late autumn of 1781 France was cheered by the news of a brilliant victory in America. On the 19 October, 7000 men, forming the flower of the British army, under command of Lord Cornwallis, surrendered at Yorktown to the allied forces of about 16,000 men, of whom 7000 were Frenchmen under Rochambeau. The operations were greatly assisted by the blockade of the James and York rivers by a French fleet under Comte de Grasse, which cut off the British communications. This victory virtually ended the Revolutionary struggle. Although England would not yet admit her defeat, the independence of the United States was assured, and French arms and diplomacy had won.

In the face of these triumphs, the petty cabals which secured the overthrow of Necker seem beneath contempt. In January, Necker had issued his famous financial statement (*Compte rendu*), showing in detail the receipts and disbursements of the government. For the first time the people knew the exact state of the finances. The report showed just how much went annually in pensions to courtiers, as free gifts for which they rendered no service whatever, and the Court was indignant that these facts should be revealed to the public. There was a general demand for the removal of Necker, and the King weakly yielded.

It must be admitted that this time the Queen was not to blame. "Of all the ministers of the King," remarks Mercy-Argenteau, "Monsieur Necker is the one of whom the Queen has the best opinion." And this approbation was not confined to words. In spite of her natural love for luxury, Marie-Antoinette had consented with goodwill to the economies which he asked of her. She even resisted the suggestions of the Polignac party, and refused for the first time to aid them. When Necker finally decided to give up the fight and retire from office, the Queen tried to turn him from his purpose. Could she have done more? In view of the weakness of the King, could she

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alone have defended the minister against the combined attack of the Parlement, the royal princes, and all of the privileged classes? Mercy seems to think that if she had displayed the same tenacity, and used the same means, to keep Necker, that she had employed to get rid of Turgot, she would have been successful. When Necker left she is said to have shed tears. She seems to have been the only person at Versailles even faintly to realize what this departure meant, and what it was to cost the French Monarchy.

The year 1781 was to be marked by two other important events. On the 22 October was born the much-desired Dauphin, who was to pass away eight years later on the eve of the Revolution. On the 21 November, Maurepas died; old and broken in health, he was witty still. The "Society" in vain made an assault on the vacant place. The King kept silent as to his intentions, and for once showed himself firm. He had an able adviser in Vergennes, and finally decided not to appoint a new first minister.

In September 1783 peace was finally signed with Great Britain. It was the first treaty in half a century which had been advantageous to France. The short period of calm which followed was marked by a renewal of social activities. It was at this time that Beaumarchais succeeded in producing the "Mariage de Figaro." The Court was amused by the wit of the play without suspecting the profound lesson concealed in the story. The success of the piece was extraordinary: it had a run of nearly seventy nights at the Comédie Française, a rare event in the eighteenth century. The King seems to have been nearly the only person to foresee the danger. He said that the author made a jest of nearly everything which should be respected in a government, and that the Bastille would have to be destroyed if this play was allowed to continue. Prophetic words!

Maréchal de Richelieu at this time described the difference between the present reign and the two preceding ones by saying that, under the Great King, "no one dared to

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say anything"; under his successor, "they spoke in whispers"; under the present King, "they speak out loud."

After the conclusion of peace the office of Controller-General became of first importance. Since the beginning of the reign there had been seven changes in the financial administration. The finances were in a most dangerous state and the new minister should have been chosen with the greatest care. The Queen desired the recall of Necker, but she was won over by the intrigues of the Polignac clique, and after much hesitation the sovereigns were persuaded "to make an appointment which was one day to result in the total destruction of their kingdom and their own end on the scaffold." These are the exact words of one of the Queen's private secretaries, and the story of Calonne's ministry shows how right was this faithful servant.

Calonne, who was born in 1734, was not quite fifty at the time he took office. He was rather a fine-looking man, with an oval face, high forehead, keen eyes, and a firm mouth. In a number of positions which he had held, he had shown brilliant but superficial qualities. He began his new career by borrowing a hundred million livres by loans in the form of lotteries. For three years he cleverly concealed his methods, and his success was marvellous. At the end of that period the loans amounted to nearly five hundred millions, and the annual deficit had reached a hundred millions. Never was such prodigality known. Rambouillet was bought for the King, and Saint-Cloud for the Queen. The debts of the King's brothers were paid. The Controller's answer to a request for money was: "If it is possible it is done; if it is impossible it shall be done." His principles were that "A man who wishes to borrow must appear to be rich; and to appear to be rich, he must dazzle people by spending freely."

When it was found impossible to float more loans Calonne resorted to the expedient of reminting the gold coins, which disguised fraud brought in fifty million livres. But this was only postponing the evil day. Finally,

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at the end of his resources, he suggested to the King that an Assembly of Notables should be summoned and the situation placed before it. This idea appealed to the fancy of Louis, and the plan was adopted.

After some delay, on account of the illness of Calonne, followed by the death of Vergennes, the Assembly finally opened on the 22 February 1787, at the Hôtel des Menus at Versailles. There were in all one hundred and forty-four Notables, including the royal princes, bishops, peers, deputies and municipal officials.

The Controller was full of hope, as he laid before the Assembly the proposed reforms, which were modelled on those of Turgot and Necker. He stated that his plans were known to, and approved by, the King. Whereupon, Dillon, Archbishop of Narbonne, exclaimed in angry tones: "Do you take us for sheep and imbeciles that you call us together simply to obtain our sanction to plans which are already settled!"

The Notables, before voting on any of the reforms, insisted on knowing the state of the finances and the amount of the deficit. Calonne refused to furnish the information, but the Assembly held firm. Accusations and threats were made against the Controller, and it was evident that he was lost. He was exiled to Lorraine, and finally retired to England, in April.

Calonne's successor, Monseigneur de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, was not destined to be any more successful. He owed his appointment to his friend the Abbé de Vermond, the Queen's reader.

The new minister consented to disclose the state of the finances, and thus won the good-will of the Assembly. The Notables, however, were not disposed to adopt the new scheme of taxation, which they left to the "wisdom of His Majesty." On the 25 May, the Notables were dissolved, leaving things exactly where they had found them.

At this moment, Marie-Antoinette was really at the head of the French Government. It was she who directed and Brienne who executed. The Archbishop exploited the

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power of the Queen without scruples. Not content with the title of Controller, he had himself named first minister. Upon this, Ségur, the Minister of War, resigned, and Brienne appointed his own brother, Comte de Loménie, as head of the Army.

Brienne had not been ten days in charge of the finances before his gross incapacity was apparent. The bankers, in view of the ignorance of the Minister, refused their coöperation, and there was everywhere confusion and disorganization in the public service.

The Controller also found himself in conflict with the powerful Paris Parlement, which refused to register the stamp tax and land tax which in his desperation he had proposed. The French *parlements* were entirely different in their nature from the British Parliament or the American Congress. They were not legislative chambers, but bodies of men, mostly jurists, who registered — that is, reduced to writing and sanctioned — the edicts of the king. Nominally they had the right, which they sometimes exercised, of refusing to register. In such case the king could hold what was called a *lit de justice* (bed of justice) and command them to register, which they had to do. Another way of bringing the Parlement to terms, was to exile it to some distant provincial town, which usually reduced it to obedience.

The Parlement of Paris came into existence in the fourteenth century. It soon increased in power and authority, and was allowed in time to administer justice by itself. The offices connected with the Parlement could be bought, and they and their perquisites become the property of those who purchased them, and could be transmitted to their children. One of the perquisites that such offices carried was a patent of nobility, and thus was created the *noblesse de la robe*.

It was not until the advent of Richelieu that the Paris Parlement encountered any serious check in its dominating career, and the policy of the great minister was inherited by the Grand Monarque. It was in Louis the Fifteenth, however, that the Parlement found its most aggressive

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enemy. He exiled it from Paris in 1753, and in 1770, on the advice of Maupeou, abolished it altogether. On his accession, Louis the Sixteenth recalled the former councillors, and now he was to find them the stiffest of defenders of many of the most odious abuses of the Old Régime.

The Parlement of Paris was further strengthened in the country by the existence of similar bodies in twelve of the chief provincial cities: Aix, Besançon, Bordeaux, Dijon, Douai, Grenoble, Metz, Nancy, Pau, Rennes, Rouen, and Toulouse. Though these provincial parlements had no actual connection with that of Paris, they invariably made common cause with it in all its struggles with the Crown.

During the discussion over the taxes proposed by Brienne, the Parlement insisted that it be furnished with a report upon the "states of the finances," a demand which led to the ominous remark: "It is not the states of the finances, but the States-General, that we want."

Enraged over the refusal of the Parlement to register the taxes, Brienne lost his head, and resolved upon strong measures. A Bed of Justice was held at Versailles, to register the edicts, but the following day, on its return to Paris, the Parlement annulled its action. The members were thereupon sent into exile at Troyes, where they remained until September, when a compromise was agreed upon, and they were allowed to return to Paris.

For all this trouble and disorder the Queen was held accountable. She had assumed the responsibility of appearing to govern the kingdom, while she allowed others to act, to intrigue, and to make appointments which were supposed by the public to be her choice. Now she had to bear all the discredit of their blunders. In vain she made enormous sacrifices, reducing the expenses of her household over a million francs a year, and trying in every way to propitiate public opinion — it was too late. She had become so unpopular that they did not dare to expose her portrait at the Salon for fear that it would be insulted by the public.

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In August 1788 there was not enough money to pay the interest due on the public debt, and the Controller, who was at the end of his resources, was an object of abhorrence to the entire nation. Much to her chagrin and humiliation, the Queen was forced to yield; Brienne resigned, and Necker was recalled.

The news produced a profound impression at Paris. "There are few examples," writes Besenval, "of so sudden a transition from rage and despair to satisfaction and rapture, as were shown in Paris."

The recall of Necker in 1788 was the last public act of Marie-Antoinette prior to the epoch of the Revolution. Discouraged by so many failures she ceased to take part in the Councils of the King, and devoted herself to domestic affairs. On the 27 March 1785, she had given birth to the Duc de Normandie, the future martyr of the Temple, the so-called Louis the Seventeenth. On the 9 July of the following year, another daughter was born, but this child lived scarcely a year.

The return of Necker to power immediately restored confidence. He undid all that Brienne had done, repealed the edicts and revoked the decree of bankruptcy, pledging his own fortune as security for loans to the State.

On the first day of January 1789, the news spread through Paris that four days previously the King, on receiving Monsieur Necker's report, had decided in Council on the convocation of the States-General. This was Necker's "New Year's Gift to France," which was received with thanksgiving from one end of the kingdom to the other.

CHAPTER FIVE

1789

THE STATES-GENERAL

The Royal Program — Apparent Power of the Sovereign — The Maison du Roi — Its Great Expense — Spirit of Reform in the Nation — The Reactionary Faction — The King Receives the Deputies — The Church Ceremony — The Session Opens — Separation of the Orders — The Advent of Mirabeau — Attempts to Unite the Orders — Sieyès and Bailly — The Deadlock Continues — The National Assembly — The Oath of the Tennis-Court — The *Séance Royale* — The Orders Finally United — The Breton Club — Plot to Suppress the Assembly — Demoralization of the Army — Concentration of Troops at Paris — The King Reassures the Assembly — Dismissal of Necker — The King's Duplicity

AFTER an interval of one hundred and seventy-five years the nation was once more to deliberate on its own affairs. The States-General were invited to assemble at Versailles on the fifth day of May 1789. A new era had dawned for France. The whole country was in an ecstasy of delight.

The attitude of the Government, as shown in the regulations issued for the guidance of the King's agents, was most liberal. The preamble stated that "His Majesty has determined to assemble the States-General of the Kingdom about his own dwelling, not in any way to fetter their deliberations, but to preserve in regard to them the character which lies nearest his heart — that of counsellor and friend."

The royal program was an excellent one, if only it had been followed: No taxation without the consent of the nation; the States to meet regularly; a budget to be adopted; *lettres de cachet* to be abolished; freedom of

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the press to be instituted; and, greatest of all, a Constitution, with equal taxation for all classes.

For the elections to the Third Estate practically universal suffrage had been granted; every man who had reached the age of twenty-five, and who paid taxes, was given the right to vote. The elections, which began in January, were not entirely finished at the date set for the first meeting. The representatives of the nation numbered 1155, of whom about 600, or more than a majority, belonged to the Third Estate. They had been summoned to meet at Versailles, not, as frequently stated, on account of the King's love of the chase, but for the convenience of the Government, and to avoid the enormous expense of the transfer of the Court if the States should sit elsewhere.

At the moment that the States-General were about to assemble again, after an interval of nearly two centuries, the King of France was still in theory an absolute monarch. He reigned over twenty-five million souls — as many as were contained in all the divided states of Germany, and twice as many as in England. He seemed to be the most powerful sovereign in Europe.

The King lived at Versailles in the magnificent palace erected by his ancestor — removed from the great and turbulent city of Paris. Although the royal prestige was still maintained by the same etiquette, the forms were less rigorous than under the Grand Monarque, for Louis was simple in his tastes, and even Marie-Antoinette preferred the small intimate fêtes of the Petit-Trianon.

The King was surrounded by three households: the civil, the ecclesiastic, and the military.

The positions in the civil household were filled by the royal princes and the greatest nobles of the land: Condé, Penthièvre, Richelieu, Duras, and Liancourt.

At the head of the ecclesiastical establishment was Monseigneur de Montmorency-Laval, Bishop of Metz, the Grand-Almoner of France.

The military household was composed of three corps

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d'élite: the Gardes du Corps, the Gardes Suisses, and the Gardes Françaises, whose duty it was to protect the person of the King, and to maintain order at Versailles and at Paris.

The Gardes du Corps, about 1300 men, were divided into four companies, garrisoned at Beauvais, Amiens, Troyes, and Châlons, whence they came in turn to take up their service at the Château. The four captains belonged to the greatest families, and all had the grade of general in the Army.

The Swiss Guards were a single regiment of 2250 men, who had their barracks at Rueil and Courbevoie. Two companies were always on duty at Versailles, where they maintained order outside the palace.

Finally, there was the regiment of the Gardes Françaises, about 3650 men, all of whom were at least five feet eight in height. This was one of the finest organizations in the kingdom. Charged with the maintenance of order at Versailles, and particularly at Paris, where they were garrisoned, they were great favorites with the people of the capital. The colonel was the Duc de Châtelet, and all of the officers belonged to the high nobility. The non-commissioned officers and the soldiers were superior to those of other regiments; many of the sergeants were well educated, and capable of making excellent officers; several were destined to attain high rank: Hoche, Lefebvre and Friant.

Since the accession of Louis the Sixteenth the Maison du Roi had been largely reduced, from motives of economy, by Saint-Germain and other reforming ministers, and the Mousquetaires, of glorious memory, and the Cent-Suisses had been suppressed.

Modelled upon the household of the King, there were the similar establishments of the Queen, the Dauphin, the two brothers of the King, Provence and Artois, and the princes and princesses of the royal family. This Court, with its 6000 civil and 9000 military functionaries, made up a real city of 15,000 persons.

The total expenses of the Maison du Roi in 1789

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amounted to over thirty million livres a year, a sum which would be equivalent to-day to about one hundred millions. Without going into the details, it may be said that, with the pensions and the gifts of the King, the Court absorbed about ten per cent. of the total revenues of the State. When the Court changed its residence for a period of two or three months, the expense was enormous — some six million livres.

In reality, however, the strength of the monarchy was more apparent than real. The King had lost much of his prestige, and the royal authority had been seriously undermined. The ministry itself was divided into two factions: the reformers, represented by Necker, and the partisans of despotism under Barentin, who had the support of the royal princes. Tossed to and fro between the two parties, the King was becoming more and more irresolute, and incapable of adopting a fixed plan of government. At the same time, troubles were increasing in every part of the kingdom, and a social and economic crisis had developed which demanded a firm hand at the helm of State.

As the day approached for the assembling of the States-General, the whole nation was animated by a spirit of reform, but a reform very moderate in character, which did not aim to overthrow the existing government. With a striking unanimity the "Cahiers de doléances" drawn up by the three Orders demanded a Constitution upon the English or American model, and the abolition of despotism.

But, while in accord on this fundamental proposition, the Orders were divided on the question of maintaining or abolishing "privileges." The reactionary faction comprised the bishops and the higher clergy, about one hundred in number, and a large majority of the nobles, some two hundred strong: in all three hundred deputies. The party of reformers was made up of two hundred curés, ninety nobles of liberal tendencies, and the whole body of the Third Estate, six hundred in number.

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Among the reformers were to be found nearly all of those men whose names afterwards became prominent during the Revolution. In the first rank of the Third Estate were Bailly, Malouet, Thouret, Mounier, Barnave, Merlin of Douai, Pétion and Robespierre. Many of the liberal members of the Clergy and the Noblesse were already illustrious. Among the group of army officers were La Fayette, and his comrades who had served in America: Noailles, Ségur, and Aiguillon. This party also included among its members La Rochefoucauld, Liancourt, Clermont-Tonnerre, and Lally-Tollendal.

Among the Clergy there were very few who had already gained a reputation. Most of the curés, like Grégoire, were not known outside of their parishes. The most celebrated was the Abbé Sieyès; and to his name must be added that of the Bishop of Autun, Talleyrand-Périgord, member of an illustrious noble family, grand seigneur rather than ecclesiastic, imbued with liberal ideas.

By the end of April all of the deputies then elected had reached Versailles. They had been summoned for the twenty-sixth, and were anxiously waiting for the sessions to begin. On Saturday the second of May the King received the representatives at the Château. The Clergy were first admitted to the royal cabinet, the two folding doors being thrown wide open. Then followed the Nobility, for whom only one of the doors was opened. Last of all, the Third Estate, after a weary wait of three mortal hours, were received by the King in his bed-chamber. The sovereign, standing between his two brothers, said not a word to any of them. Each deputy, having made his obeisance, turned and passed out. This difference in the treatment of the three orders was in strict accordance with tradition, but it made a very unfavorable impression on the members of the Third Estate, who left the palace with their feeling of loyalty considerably chilled.

The ceremony of Monday the fourth of May produced a better impression. Through streets hung with tapestry, between the serried ranks of the French and Swiss Guards, who held back the enormous crowd, the

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procession made its way to the Cathedral of Saint-Louis. All Paris had come to see the ceremony, and windows at Versailles were rented for sixty francs each.

First came the members of the Third Estate, walking four abreast. They were all dressed, like lawyers, in plain black costumes, with toques, short cloaks and black stockings. Hardly a face was familiar to the crowd except that of Mirabeau, the deputy from Aix, whose powerful homely visage attracted general attention. Nevertheless they were cheered by the crowd as they passed.

Then came the Nobility, with their mantles embroidered with gold, and white plumes floating above their hats. Next, the order of the Clergy, marching in two divisions, separated by the musicians of the Royal Chapel: first, the lower clergymen, in black cassocks; then, the bishops, in violet cassocks, and the cardinals in red capes.

Immediately following, came the Court, the royal princes, and the Duc d'Orléans, who was cheered by the crowd; then the princesses, and the Queen, who was received in silence. Finally came the King, who was loudly cheered.

At the church, the Clergy and the Nobility found seats reserved for them; the Third Estate placed themselves as best they could. La Fare, Bishop of Nancy, who preached the sermon, read the Court a lecture. The King went to sleep, the Queen bit her lips, and the deputies applauded. That evening Versailles was illuminated, and joy and confidence filled every heart.

Tuesday morning, the fifth of May, at eight o'clock, the formal opening of the States-General took place in the Salle des Menus-Plaisirs, upon the Avenue de Paris. This hall, in which the Revolution was to be made, bore the name of the king's diversions! The calling of the roll lasted nearly four hours. During this time the deputies were crowded together in front of the dais, hung with violet velvet studded with fleurs de lis, on which the throne was set under a splendid canopy. About noon the King made his entry, followed by the Queen, who took

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her seat in an armchair at his left. Upon the benches at the right of the throne were the Clergy; at the left, the Nobility; in the centre, the dark mass of the Third Estate. The galleries were crowded with the great ladies of Paris, with the foreign ambassadors, and with visitors from all parts of the world. The King read a short address, keeping his plumed hat on his head the while. According to custom, the Clergy and the Nobility also remained covered, and the Third Estate imitated them, although this was contrary to usage.

The King, in a paternal discourse, delivered in his loud rough voice, recommended love and concord to his people. All was very vague, but he was vigorously applauded. Then the Keeper of the Seals, Barentin, briefly outlined a program of reform in taxation, in the administration of justice, and in the regulation of the liberty of the press.

Finally, Necker delivered a long address on the finances. For two hours he talked in vague terms of the deficit, which he greatly understated, and proposed a loan of eighty millions. He claimed that the increased revenues under his administration would soon bring order into the finances, and that there was no danger of bankruptcy. His long-winded discourse tired everybody, and satisfied no one. He said nothing about the great question of the Constitution, and seemed to recommend the division of the three Orders.

At four-thirty the session was adjourned, amid general cries of "Vive le Roi!" Even the Queen, who had not been acclaimed for years, was cheered again and again, so gracious was her curtesy of acknowledgment.

The sixth of May the Clergy and the Nobility held their meetings separately; the Third Estate remained in the hall of the Menus, the only chamber which was large enough to hold the three orders united. The "Commons," as they had already begun to call themselves, after some moments of perplexity, determined, insomuch as the Government had not definitely pronounced against the cumulative vote, to wait and see how matters turned out. The two other Orders might decide to join them.

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Soon news was brought to them that a motion to this effect had been lost in the two other "Chambers," by a vote of 141 to 47 in the Nobles, and of 133 to 114 in the Clergy. In this case a change of ten votes would have carried the day.

On motion of Mounier in the Third Estate it was proposed to send a semi-official delegation to invite the two other Orders to amalgamate with the Commons. Suddenly there appeared in the tribune a large, powerful form, with a thick mane of dark hair; with mobile and expressive, but extremely ugly, features; with fiery blood-shot eyes, and a flushed face. His name was repeated from mouth to mouth: "Riqueti de Mirabeau!" It was his first appearance on the rostrum.

Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti was descended from a wealthy bourgeois family of Marseille, which had purchased the domain and château of Mirabeau, and with them the title, from the family of Barras. His family for three generations had been famous for its great abilities and its violent passions. He was born in 1749, and after serving for a short time in the army, on account of his dissipation had suffered several terms of imprisonment by *lettres de cachet*. It was only when he left Vincennes in 1781, after three years' confinement, that he began to show himself the great man he really was. It was then that he published his first valuable work, and from that time on he steadily improved in power and political knowledge. He possessed an extraordinary art of using other men's ideas and appropriating the fruits of their labor. His motto seems to have been, "Je prends mon bien où je le trouve." Aulard thinks that we cannot positively ascribe to him any of the set orations which he delivered. He had many assistants and collaborateurs. Yet no one can assert that he won his power or fame by plagiarism. Nobody can dispute his genius as an orator: he had an excellent voice, and he held and swayed his audience. But he was not a debater, and did not shine in repartee.

In 1789 he had hoped to become a delegate to the States-General for the noblesse of his native place, Aix,

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but they rejected him, and he secured an election to the Third Estate.

Any man of less confidence in himself than Mirabeau would have been daunted by the murmur of reprobation which met him when he first rose to speak in opposition to the resolution of Mounier. He would have no agreement, official or semi-official, with the other Chambers, he said, and would make no overtures. Let the Commons wait, and the other Orders, already divided among themselves, would come to them.

The Assembly hooted this renegade, who had been rejected by his own order, and cheered Mounier, whose motion was adopted.

The Clergy received the delegation with friendliness. Many of the curés, and six of the prelates, were in favor of the proposition.

The Nobles were courteous, and listened politely to the request. Some of them went so far as to say that they were in sympathy with the idea.

Resolved that there should be no formal organization of the Assembly until the two privileged Orders came to take their places, the Third Estate appointed no president, and marked time. For ten days there was a continual coming and going of embassies from one Chamber to another. During this time the Government made no move, but there was already talk at Court of using this disagreement between the Orders as a pretext for dissolving the States-General. The Queen and the Princes were already hostile, and a formidable opposition to Necker was developing in the Ministry. The King was uncertain and vacillating. On the fourth of June the little Dauphin died at Meudon, and the royal family retired to Marly.

In the meantime the disunion among the Clergy and the Nobility was daily increasing, and the Commons felt sure of victory if the executive power did not intervene. The original "forty-seven" were gaining recruits among the Noblesse, and the majority were already talking of a resort to force.

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The confidence of the Commons had been strengthened on the 25 May by the tardy arrival of the Paris deputies, all of them strong liberals. They were headed by the aged Bailly, the great astronomer, and the Abbé Sieyès, who, like Mirabeau, was a deserter from his own order.

Joseph Sieyès, who was destined to play a prominent rôle during the Revolution, the Consulate and the Empire, was born at Fréjus the 3 May 1748. He was educated at the Sorbonne, where he read more books on politics than on theology. He became a canon in Bretagne, and later vicar-general of the diocese of Chartres. In 1788 he published several political pamphlets which had a large sale and much influence in the provinces, and gave him a great reputation throughout France. But this also prevented his election to the States-General by his own order, and he was the twentieth and last deputy to the Third Estate chosen by the city of Paris.

Jean-Sylvain Bailly was the only son of the curator of the Louvre, and was born in 1736. At an early age he became interested in astronomy, and in 1763 was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences. Later he published in five volumes his histories of astronomy, which gained him a great reputation, and led to his election to the Académie Française. But he was best known to his countrymen by his reports on Mesmer, whom he proved to be a charlatan, and on the horrible mismanagement of the Hôtel Dieu, the chief hospital of Paris. To his surprise he was elected first deputy from Paris, but his lack of political experience made him a failure when called upon to play a difficult rôle in public life.

While the Tiers État was awaiting the course of events, the Clergy and the Nobility had at once organized and elected as their presidents the Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld, Archbishop of Rouen, and the Duc de Mailly.

After the deadlock had continued for two weeks the King directed that there should be a conference between

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committees of the three orders to see if any compromise could be reached. The Commons appointed sixteen commissioners, but no understanding could be arrived at. About this time Monseigneur de La Luzerne, the Bishop of Langres, suggested that the Clergy and the Nobility should unite and form one chamber on the analogy of the British House of Lords, but this wise and temperate proposal was ignored by the King.

At last, on the 10 June, on motion of Sieyès, who had taken the lead in the *Tiers État*, a final invitation was sent the two privileged orders, with an intimation that if it was not accepted the Commons would at once organize as the States-General of France, not as a separate order. Two days later, Bailly was elected provisional president, and on the following day there came the first break in the deadlock: three curés left the Clergy and joined the Commons. On the 17 June, swayed by the eloquence of Mirabeau, the Third Estate by an immense majority declared itself to be the "National Assembly of France."

This move was viewed with dismay by the Government, and the Comte d'Artois, who had taken the lead of the Court party, loudly called for the suppression of the insolent Commons. An order was issued for the suspension of the sessions of the *Tiers État* until after a "séance royale" to be held on the 22 June.

When the members of the Third Estate went to their hall on the morning of the 20 June, they found it closed. They immediately ran to the Tennis-Court, the largest building they could find in the vicinity, and here they took the celebrated oath never to adjourn until a constitution had been adopted. Only one deputy declined to take the oath. The Commons were now a band of rebels to the royal commands — rebels who, in the words of Franklin, would hang separately if they did not hang together.

On the 22 June, after hearing that the royal session was postponed, the National Assembly met in the Cathedral of Saint-Louis, because the Tennis-Court had been reserved by the Comte d'Artois for a game. Here they

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were joined by 149 of the Estate of the Clergy, and two members of the Noblesse.

Even then the Court did not seem to realize the danger of the situation, and at the *séance royale* on the 23 June the King directed that the three orders should continue to meet separately. The King had said that the Assembly must dissolve, and "*Cy veult le roy, cy veult la loi*" (The king's will is the law). He arose from his seat and left the hall, followed by the Nobility and most of the Clergy. The trumpets sounded as he entered his coach to return to the Château. It was the crucial moment of the Revolution.

The Third Estate, in gloomy silence, still held its place in the centre of the hall. Suddenly Dreux-Brézé, the Grand Master of the King's Household, in full court dress, appeared at the door, and in the King's name requested the members to retire. The president, Bailly, pale and trembling, said that "the Assembly would consider the question." Then Mirabeau rose to the occasion. In a voice deep with passion he cried: "Go tell those who sent you that the National Assembly will never leave here except at the point of the bayonet! "

The young Marquis de Dreux-Brézé returned to the Château and reported to the King. Louis, with a weary gesture, said: "They mean to stay? . . . Well then, . . . let them stay! "

The courage of Mirabeau had won the victory. With the vision of a great statesman he had seen that retreat was impossible, and had thus assured the power of the National Assembly. On the 25 June forty-seven liberal members of the Noblesse, headed by the Duc d'Orléans, joined the Assembly, and by the King's command the rest followed two days later. A committee was at once appointed to draft a constitution for the kingdom.

At this time the members of the Assembly began to get better acquainted with each other and to form clubs. The first and most important of these was the Breton Club, from which finally arose the celebrated club of the

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Jacobins. After the election of the delegates from Bretagne, committees had been formed in all the principal cities of the province to keep in touch by correspondence with the members at Versailles. These deputies got in the habit of meeting regularly at some chosen place to exchange views, and soon formed a small society. They were later joined by other delegates, and the salon became the rendez-vous of many members of the Assembly.

The Court was already thinking of means of suppressing the Assembly. No plan, however, was discussed in the Council, and no violent measures were suggested to the King, who was known to be opposed to any resort to force. But the Government began little by little to concentrate troops in the vicinity of Versailles. On the 26 June marching orders were sent to six regiments, three of cavalry and three of infantry; and the first of July ten other infantry regiments and two battalions of artillery, principally Swiss or Germans, were ordered from the North and East. At the end of ten days, a small army was concentrated around Versailles and Paris. Almost before the Parisians knew what was happening there was a large camp of foreign soldiers stationed in the Champ-de-Mars. The aged Maréchal de Broglie was invested with the chief command.

Victor-François de Broglie, the second duke of that title, was descended from the Italian family of Broglio; and both his father and grandfather had attained the rank of Maréchal de France. He had first seen service in Italy in 1734 in the War of the Austrian Succession; had become a lieutenant-general in 1748; and had greatly distinguished himself in the Seven Years' War, during which he gained for the French their only important victory. His success at Berghem, on the 19 April 1759, won for him the rank of Maréchal de France, and also of Prince of the Empire. He was just seventy years of age when he was summoned to Versailles by the Comte d'Artois to take command of the army around Paris. In spite of the protests of his son, the Prince de Broglie,

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and of his nephews, Charles and Alexandre de Lameth, he accepted the invitation. He had been a great soldier and a great general in his earlier years, and it was difficult for him to realize that the troops encamped on the Champ-de-Mars were not as devoted to the King as the men who had fought under him during his campaigns. Thoroughly loyal himself, he could not believe that his officers were not trustworthy.

Broglie was soon constrained to admit, however, that there would be some risk in employing French troops against the Parisians, but he did not think that the foreign mercenaries would hesitate to obey orders. In fact the Army was already dangerously disaffected. In normal times nearly the entire force of 180,000 men had been stationed along the northern and eastern frontiers, principally in Flandre, Artois, Champagne, Lorraine and Alsace, with very few troops in the interior provinces. But lately the soldiers had been divided into small detachments of from 50 to 700 men, and dispersed throughout the kingdom, even in the small cities and towns, to maintain order, which was very much troubled everywhere. The effect of this policy was doubly disastrous to the Crown: the troops had become infected with the popular discontent, and they were so widely dispersed that it was difficult to concentrate any large force quickly in the vicinity of the capital.

The whole Army was lacking in *moral*. The troops were reluctant to maintain order, and absolutely refused to shed the blood of the people. Many of the officers were discontented on account of the edict of Ségur, and many had thrown up their commissions and retired to their homes. The soldiers were also exasperated by the severity of the new Prussian discipline. They openly discussed public affairs, and were ready for desertion or revolt. There were signs of discontent even among the corps d'élite, like the Gardes Françaises.

The Government was not ignorant of these facts. Even before the meeting of the States-General, Necker had warned the King that he was deceived regarding the



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loyalty of the Army; that the troops would not march against the representatives of the people, and that it was not safe to order them to Versailles.

The concentration of the foreign mercenaries around the capital had frightened the Assembly. The deputies of the Third Estate feared for their liberty and even their lives. In Paris the most alarming reports were circulated: the Assembly was to be dissolved, the members imprisoned, and the city given up to pillage.

On the 8 July, Mirabeau spoke on this subject in the Assembly, and it was voted to ask the Government to withdraw the troops. Two days later the King assured a delegation of the Assembly that the troops were only intended to maintain order and to protect the freedom of the States-General. But he aroused new distrust by stating at the end of his discourse that if the necessary presence of the troops in the vicinity of Paris was disquieting, he was willing, on the request of the Assembly, to transfer the States-General to Noyon or Soissons, and to go himself to Compiègne so as to keep in close touch with their deliberations.

It is unnecessary to say that the Assembly had no idea of moving to a place in close proximity to the northern provinces, which were full of troops, and certainly would not make such a request.

At this moment, when only half of the 18,000 troops ordered to Paris had arrived, the Court decided on an act of the utmost gravity. After the session of the 8 July, when Mirabeau had denounced the plan of a counter-revolution, Breteuil had been summoned to Versailles. He arrived on the morning of the tenth and had a conference with the King and Queen. Later, as already stated, the King received the delegation of the Assembly and endeavored to reassure them regarding the presence of the troops. That night there was a secret Council, attended by many members of the Noblesse. The next morning the King presided over a meeting of the Ministers, where Necker was not present. He tried to conceal his trouble by pretending to doze. At the close of the meeting

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he took one of the ministers aside and charged him with a letter to Necker, ordering him immediately to leave the kingdom. That same evening, Necker, under pretence of making a visit to Saint-Ouen, set out for Switzerland by way of Brussels, in order to avoid Bourgogne and the Franche-Compté, which were in a state of unrest. On Sunday, the 12 July, the new ministry, arranged three weeks before, was partly formed. Breteuil was at the head, and directed the Finances; Broglie took the War Office; La Porte, the Marine; and La Vauguyon, the Foreign Affairs.

The dismissal of Necker was an act fraught with the gravest consequences. The people had confidence in him. Bankers and investors regarded him as the upholder of the public credit and a guarantee against bankruptcy. The Assembly knew that in the Government he was the adversary of the Court party. Even the ministers opposed to him, like Barentin, realized the gravity of the error committed by the King. No excuse can be found for this double-dealing on the part of Louis, which led directly to the fall of the Bastille and the eventual destruction of the Monarchy.

CHAPTER SIX

1789

THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE

The Palais-Royal — The Gardes Françaises — Paris Learns of Necker's Dismissal — Rage of the People — Encounter with the Troops — The City Aroused — The Bandits Appear — The News at Versailles — National Guard Formed at Paris — The Fourteenth of July — The Mob at the Invalides — At the Bastille — History of the Fortress — The Mob Demands Arms — It Enters the Outer Court — The Attack Begins — The Governor Surrenders — Massacre of Launay and Flesselles — Versailles Hears the News — The Legend of the Bastille — Louis Visits the Assembly — The First Emigration — The King at Paris — Lally-Tollendal — Marquis de La Fayette — His Career

THE favorite meeting-place of the rabble during the Revolution was the gardens of the Palais-Royal.

This palace was erected in 1634 by Cardinal Richelieu, and was at first known as the Palais-Cardinal. At his death, he bequeathed the property to the king, Louis the Thirteenth, who only survived him by five months. The following year, when his widow, Anne of Austria, came to live there with her two children, Louis the Fourteenth, then aged five, and Philippe d'Orléans, the name of the palace was changed to Palais-Royal. It came into the possession of the Orléans family by the gift of Louis to his younger brother. When the palace was rebuilt in 1783, after its partial destruction by fire, the Duc d'Orléans (Égalité) constructed arcades around the gardens, which he let out for shops, thereby making the palace the most magnificent bazaar in the world.

In the Palais-Royal, at all hours of the day and night, there was usually an immense crowd of workmen out of work, young *avocats* without practice, and political agita-

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tors of every description, who assembled there to give vent to their feelings and listen to their favorite orators. Above all, this was the appointed rendez-vous of the agents of the Duc d'Orléans, who brought him the first news of everything which happened at Versailles. Later it became a general gathering-place, and was recognized as the centre of political opinion in Paris. It was also the favorite resort of all the abandoned characters of the city, both male and female.

At that time in Paris, as in every other capital in Europe, order was maintained by the troops, and there was no regular police force. The garrison of Paris then consisted of the Gardes Françaises, who were all Frenchmen by birth, and generally Parisians. Many of the soldiers had distinguished themselves in the campaigns of France, but at the time of the Revolution they had not left Paris for more than twenty-five years, and the men had naturally deteriorated by living so long in the gay capital, without seeing active service. From the fact that the troops were always stationed in Paris, commissions were eagerly sought for, and were considered next in honor to places in the body-guard. Being closely related by birth and marriage with the people of Paris, the force could not be depended upon to act against the populace. The officers as a rule lived away from their men, and, as was generally the case in the old Royal army, the maintenance of discipline was entrusted to the non-commissioned officers, who were a very fine body of men.

The news of the dismissal of Necker, which became known at Versailles on the evening of the 11 July, filled the deputies with consternation. When the report reached Paris at noon on the following day, it was received at first with incredulity and then, when confirmed, with alarm. All the city rushed to the Palais-Royal, and at three o'clock the gardens were crowded. It was a sweltering July day, and the passions of the people were at fever-heat. The assembled throng was harangued by Camille Desmoulins and other orators. They were told that Monsieur Necker had been dismissed, and that this was the

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tocsin of the Saint-Bartholomew for all patriots, who would be massacred that night by the Swiss and German mercenaries assembled on the Champ-de-Mars. "To arms!" cried Camille. "We have but one chance left — to fly to arms!"

From the ten thousand men packed in the gardens there came a thunderous roar of approval. The crowd must have some badge of recognition: leaves were detached from the trees, and became for twenty-four hours the green cockade of the Revolution, the "color of hope." Then the crowd, led by Camille, rushed to the Boulevard du Temple, and thronged to the shop of Curtius.

Curtius was a Swiss doctor of Berne, whose beautiful anatomical models in wax had attracted the attention of the Prince de Conti, who persuaded him to come to Paris, where he achieved great success with his busts. His niece, afterwards Madame Tussaud, had learned from him to model in wax, and it was from his shop that she brought to London the models which formed the nucleus of her famous collection.

Curtius was a radical, and his shop was full of busts of all the popular leaders. He readily gave the crowd the busts of Necker and the Duc d'Orléans, who were then the idols of the masses, and behind these trophies the procession formed. The mob then marched by the boulevards and the Rues Saint-Denis, Saint-Martin, and Saint-Honoré to the Place Vendôme. Here they met a detachment of the cavalry of Royal-Allemand, commanded by Prince de Lambesc. After a short skirmish the troops fell back to the Place Louis-Quinze. The Pont de la Concorde was then in process of construction and the square was filled with large building stones. There is considerable discrepancy in the accounts of what followed, but all the reports agree that the crowd, after first taking refuge behind the work-sheds, became more courageous, and began to stone the troopers. Lambesc then ordered his men to ride slowly forward, without attempting to charge, and disperse the rioters. The mob at once fled, and many took refuge in the Tuileries Gardens, whence they

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hurled chairs at the dragoons. The busts were smashed, one trooper was knocked off his horse and injured, and one old man, who either would not or could not get out of the way, was knocked down. He was not badly hurt, but, to excite the rage of the populace, it was reported that he was killed.

This "charge," grossly exaggerated by the popular reports, aroused all Paris. The people pillaged the shops where arms were sold, and the French Guards rushed from their barracks to take part in the riot. They threw themselves between the crowd and the dragoons, and fired a volley which killed several of the troopers and drove the others back. At the first sign of civil war, Lambesc took fright, and ordered his men to retreat via the Champs-Élysées to the Champ-de-Mars. Besenval, the commandant at Paris, who had 5000 men under his control, refused to aid Lambesc. Without precise orders from Maréchal de Broglie, and feeling very uncertain as to the loyalty of his men, he remained quietly at his headquarters in the École Militaire, and let events take their course. By one o'clock in the morning, all the dragoons were back in their casernes on the left bank of the Seine. This retreat handed Paris over to the mob.

The hot July night which followed brought little rest to the Parisians: it was the first of many a terrible night through which the city was to pass within the next ten years. During the hours of darkness, the tocsin sounded from the belfry of the Hôtel-de-Ville and was taken up by the church towers throughout the sleepless city, from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to the Chaillot Gate. It was not, as so often stated, a cry for help against the Government at Versailles, but a summons for all good citizens to rise up and repel the "bandits," who had descended upon the city. Everywhere these birds of ill-omen were at work. In one section they pillaged the shops of the gunsmiths and seized arms; in another they sacked the taverns, and searched the shops of the butchers and bakers for provisions. In still another, the mob attacked the octroi barriers and set them on fire, so as to put an end

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to the duties on the import of provisions to the city. But no attacks were made on persons, and in the heart of the city the rich shops in streets like the Rue Richelieu and the Rue Vivienne were protected by patrols of armed bourgeois.

On Monday morning the Assembly met as usual at Versailles. Anxious over the news from Paris they sent another deputation to request the King to withdraw the troops. The demand was refused as before, and the Assembly passed a resolution expressing its regret at the dismissal of Necker and his colleagues; at the same time declaring that it would not cease to insist on the withdrawal of the troops lately assembled at Paris and Versailles, and upon the establishment of gardes bourgeois.

That same day a municipal revolution was accomplished at Paris. By one accord the electors flocked to the Hôtel-de-Ville. They had been chosen originally for the purpose of electing deputies to the States-General, and ought then to have dispersed. This, however, they had refused to do, and now, in this critical hour, they came together to form a provisional government. During the day they were occupied in organizing a municipal guard for Paris. This force, which later became the National Guard of Paris, was at first to consist of two hundred volunteers from each of the city districts, or a total of 12,000 men, but it was later increased to four times that number. The men were to choose their own officers, and were to be charged with the duty of maintaining order in the city, patrolling the streets night and day. This militia was formed, at least in part, that very day, and immediately undertook the task of protecting the city. That night perfect order reigned throughout Paris, but it was the calm which precedes the storm.

During the entire day of the thirteenth crowds had besieged the Hôtel-de-Ville, demanding arms and ammunition. They were put off with vague promises, and were told that guns and cartridges might be found at the Chartreux and the Arsenal. Two delegates went to the Invalides and told Besenval that arms were necessary to

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provide for the security of the city. He replied that he was awaiting orders from Versailles and told them to return the next day.

From daybreak on the 14 July the tocsin was ringing in every church tower. At seven o'clock a powerful mob rushed to the Invalides to demand the arms which had been tacitly promised by Besenval the previous day. The Hôtel des Invalides had been built by Louis the Fourteenth in the Faubourg Saint-Germain between 1670 and 1674. It was a large building of the regular style of architecture introduced by Mansart, and was designed for appearance rather than defence. It had been planned by Louvois, the famous Minister of War, and is one of his greatest monuments. He had been the first to form a standing army; and he had established the Hôtel des Invalides for old soldiers, and suggested the founding of the order of Saint-Louis for officers. At this time the Hôtel was garrisoned by a few aged Invalides under the command of Comte de Sombreuil, a veteran officer.

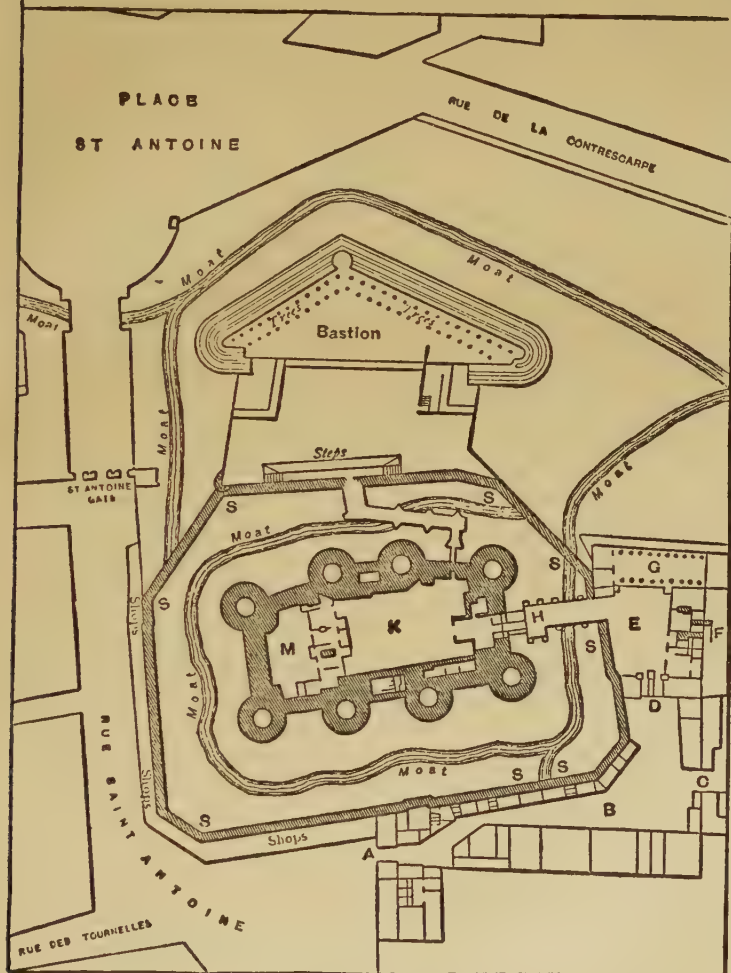
When the mob reached the Invalides the governor, Sombreuil, refused to surrender the arms, and stated that he was expecting at any moment the return of the courier who had been dispatched to Versailles. The crowd refused to wait. They invaded the court, disarmed the sentinels, searched the Hôtel, and took possession of 32,000 guns concealed in the cellars. Besenval and his officers did not attempt to interfere; and Broglie made no reply to the urgent messages sent to Versailles.

Meanwhile the people continued to look for arms. Following the indications given by Flesselles they went to the Chartreux, near the Luxembourg, and searched the convent, but found nothing. Having heard that large quantities of powder had been taken by the Swiss the previous night from the Arsenal and placed in the Bastille, the crowd then gathered at the gates of the fortress. The attack which followed was due entirely to chance, and was conducted without any preconceived plan or direction.

The Bastille was a monument of a very different char-

REFERENCE.

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|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| A Entrance to the Bastille. | G. The Terrace. |
| B. Outer Court. | H. The Second Drawbridge. |
| C. The Arsenal Gate. | K. The Great Court. |
| D. The First Drawbridge. | M Count'du Puits. |
| E. The Governor's Courth. | S. The Outer Wall. |
| F The Governor's House. | |



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acter from the Invalides. It did not commemorate the glories of the reign of the Roi Soleil, but rather the despotism of his ancestors. It had been built during the reign of Charles the Fifth to defend the suburb which contained the royal palace of Saint-Paul, and was a fine type of the mediæval castle. The city of Paris had since outgrown its ancient limits, and extensive suburbs had been built up without the gate which the fortress commanded. But the Rue and the Faubourg Saint-Antoine were still dominated by the sombre mass of the Bastille, with its eight large towers, connected by massive walls ten feet thick, pierced with narrow slits by which the cells were lighted. The fortress was surrounded by wide and deep moats. By the gate on the Rue Saint-Antoine, one entered the outer court; then, by a drawbridge thrown over the moat, into the inner or Governor's Court. At the end of this court there was a stone bridge, with another drawbridge beyond, over a moat a hundred feet wide, and then the gates of the castle.

Since the days of the Fronde, during the minority of Louis the Fourteenth, the Bastille had heard no sound of guns, and had been used only as a state prison. Most of the inmates had been confined under *lettres de cachet*. Perhaps the most celebrated in the long line of state prisoners was the "Man with the Iron Mask." More recently, General Lally had been beheaded within its walls for failing in India. At the present time it contained but seven prisoners. The garrison was composed of eighty Invalides, and thirty Swiss of the regiment of Salis-Samade, under the command of M. de Launay, the governor of the castle. No attack had been expected, and there were only provisions for two days.

Such was the history and the status of the Bastille, when on the 14 July a small mob from the suburbs, led by a few Gardes Françaises, approached to ask for arms. The governor had been notified by Besenval that reinforcements would be sent him, and he was directed to hold the fortress at all hazards. He had ordered the cannon loaded and run out on the walls. About ten o'clock

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two commissioners were sent from the Hôtel-de-Ville to see the governor. He received them very cordially, agreed to retire the guns, and invited them to déjeuner. In the meantime, the crowd, which had been allowed to enter freely the unguarded outer courts, began to get uneasy over the prolonged absence of the commissioners. Another envoy was sent, who found the two deputies at table with the governor. Launay had begun to be disturbed by the crowds around the Bastille, but he promised not to fire unless attacked.

The Bastille did not stand entirely isolated; adjoining the wall of the inner court there was a shop. Two citizens mounted to the roof of this building, and from there succeeded in reaching the Governor's Court, where they cut the chains of the drawbridge. As soon as it fell the mob rushed across, filled the inner court, and reached the stone bridge. But the Bastille was not yet taken, for the second drawbridge was up and the fortress was capable of strong defence. The mob had only penetrated the two courts, which could both be enfiladed by musketry fire, and were untenable.

At this moment the first shot was fired — how and by whom it is now impossible to say. One account states that Launay fired three distinct shots as a signal that he refused to negotiate; another writer says that the governor ordered the Swiss to fire on the crowd in the court; and a witness of the scene, who was in the mob, asserts that after a moment the assailants caught sight of a few of the defenders and fired on them, and that the governor could only order his men to fire in reply.

The crowd, which had not seen how the drawbridge was lowered, thought that it was done by orders of the governor, and that they had fallen into an ambush. All were convinced of the bad faith of Launay, and there was a universal cry for vengeance.

At one o'clock a third delegation was sent from the Hôtel-de-Ville to request Launay to admit a battalion of the new National Guard to garrison the castle, but the deputies were not able to reach the governor. A fourth

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delegation was then sent, headed by a drummer of the Gardes Françaises, and bearing a white flag. This signal was seen, and some soldiers hoisted a white flag on one of the towers. Firing was suspended on both sides, and the delegation was admitted to the presence of the governor. The crowd was already beginning to retire from the inner court, when three men were killed and several wounded by a new fusillade from the towers. When this news was brought to the Hôtel-de-Ville, there was an outburst of fury, and three hundred soldiers of the Gardes Françaises at once marched to lay regular siege to the Bastille. It was now three o'clock.

The troops were under the command of Hulin and Élie, both non-commissioned officers. Armed with four cannon taken that morning at the Invalides, they penetrated the inner court, where the cannon were trained on the gates of the fortress. Then Launay offered to surrender, stating that if a formal capitulation were not accepted he would blow up the fortress and the quarter with twenty thousand pounds of powder. The terms were agreed to by Élie and the gates were opened. The mob and the troops rushed into the Great Court, seized Launay and his officers, and liberated the seven prisoners. It was now five o'clock.

Then occurred the first of those uncontrollable outbursts of popular fury which were to mark so many occasions during the Revolution. By the quays, Launay was dragged to the Hôtel-de-Ville, insulted and assaulted at every step. Here he was massacred on the Place de Grève. Flesselles, the chief municipal officer of the city, who was accused of treason, was also slain as he was leaving the Hôtel-de-Ville.

In the taking of the Bastille nearly one hundred of the assailants were killed and about seventy were wounded. The defenders, protected by the walls of the fortress, had but few casualties. This victory intoxicated the people of Paris, for it was a triumph of the masses in which the magistrates of the Hôtel-de-Ville took little part.

The night which followed was one of agony for the

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inhabitants of the city. The tocsin rang without ceasing; cannon thundered; windows were illuminated; and the patrols were doubled. It was said that the government troops were at the gates of the city; but really the people had little to fear: the soldiers were retiring on Versailles, guarding the Pont de Sèvres and the routes to the Château.

At Versailles, when the Assembly met for the second time at five o'clock, it received the news of the sack of the Invalides and of the siege of the Bastille. It was voted again to send a deputation to urge the King to withdraw the troops. The report of the fall of the fortress did not reach Versailles until late in the evening. The King, weary from the hunt, had retired at his usual hour, and was not awakened. At his *lever* the following morning the Duc de Liancourt communicated to him the great news. "Why," said Louis, "this is a revolt!" "No, Sire," replied the Duc, "it is a revolution!"

No event in history has been more often misrepresented and more generally misunderstood than the taking of the Bastille. An enterprise which was one of pure brigandage has been hailed as a revolt of the good citizens of Paris against the despotism of the Crown. The act of a mob of bandits has been transformed into a deed of heroes. The National Guard, organized to suppress disorder, which took no part in the attack, has been given the credit of creating in France a new era of Freedom.

The Assembly was the author of the legend. All the blame was thrown on Launay. There was an outburst of indignation, not against the ruffians who had cut the unfortunate governor to pieces, but against the governor himself. Admiration was expressed for the "order" and "wisdom" shown by the "populace in the taking of the Bastille." The misunderstanding then created was destined never to be cleared up, and to-day the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille is the "Fourth of July" of the French nation.

The Assembly thought that the moment was propitious

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to obtain great concessions from the Government, and a deputation, with grandiloquent instructions from Mirabeau, was just setting out when the Duc de Liancourt announced the King. Louis entered without ceremony, accompanied only by his brothers. He begged the Assembly to aid him to reëstablish order, and stated that he had commanded the troops to withdraw from the vicinity of Paris and Versailles. His announcement was warmly applauded by the deputies. The King then returned on foot to the Château, escorted by a large part of the Assembly, and cheered by the happy people.

Nevertheless, the King and the Court were far from being willing to accept the situation. That night Louis and Marie-Antoinette seriously considered the plan of leaving Versailles with the troops and taking refuge at Metz. But at a Council held at six o'clock in the morning Maréchal de Broglie opposed the project, saying, "Yes, we may go to Metz, but what are we going to do when we get there?" The King was afterwards bitterly to regret this lost opportunity to escape. Having decided to remain, there was nothing to do except to recall Necker, and the King copied the draft of a letter prepared by the Comte de Provence.

With the departure of the troops began the "first emigration." Comte d'Artois and the Prince de Condé set off with their children. The Duc and Duchesse de Polignac, their daughter, the Duchesse de Guiche, and the Duc's sister, Comtesse Diane de Polignac; the Princes de Conti and Lambesc; Maréchal de Broglie, Barentin, and Breteuil; and many nobles and bishops, and officers attached to the Court, left the same night.

The day after the fall of the Bastille, Paris received a formal visit from a large delegation of the Assembly, who were greeted with enthusiasm. The electors, at the Hôtel-de-Ville, by acclamation named Bailly mayor of Paris and La Fayette commanding general of the National Guard. A *Te Deum* was chanted at Notre-Dame.

On the 17 July, after the recall of Necker, the King himself went to Paris, escorted only by a few officers and

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a small body-guard. On his arrival at the gates of the city at three o'clock, he was received by Bailly and the corps municipal. In handing the King the keys of the city, Bailly recalled the entry of Henri Quatre: "He had reconquered his people; now, the people have reconquered their King." Finally the procession arrived at the Hôtel-de-Ville, where the mayor presented to the King a red and blue cockade, the colors of the city. The King placed this bicolored badge on his own white cockade, and this may have been the origin of the national emblem of France, although there are many other theories on the subject.

The King formally approved the establishment of the National Guard and the appointment of La Fayette as its commander; also the selection of Bailly for the new office of mayor of the city. In response to the calls of the crowd massed around the building, he appeared at the window, and was loudly acclaimed. He then returned to Versailles, ignorant of the fact that he had that day established two powers which were to overthrow his throne!

The real hero of the day was a young Irishman by the name of Lally-Tollendal. It was he who beguiled the unwilling King into the recognition of a free municipality of Paris, of the nomination of Bailly as first mayor of Paris, and of La Fayette as commandant of the National Guard. In her "Recollections," Madame de La Tour du Pin tells the story of his origin, which is very interesting:

His great-grandfather, Gerard Lally, was a poor little Irish gentleman who took the side of James the Second. He was a very handsome and attractive lad, and as the result of a liaison with the daughter of Lord Dillon a son was born. This natural son of Gerard Lally distinguished himself during the troubles and wars of James the Second, who made him a baronet and permitted him to recruit troops on the Dillon estate. He accompanied James the Second to France and died at Saint-Germain. He never was married, but he also left a natural son by a

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lady of Normandie, and this boy became the General Lally who was condemned to death, and executed at the Bastille in 1766. General Lally entered the French army at the age of seventeen and distinguished himself in all the wars of Louis the Fifteenth. After winning the battle of Fontenoy with the Irish brigade, he was sent to India. There, from lack of money and of reënforcements, he failed to reëstablish the French power, and on his return to France was accused of neglect of duty and executed.

This General Lally, before going to India, had had an *intrigue amoureuse* with a Comtesse de Maulde, the wife of a Flemish lord of the environs of Arras or of Saint-Omer. The result of this liaison was the birth of Trophime-Gérard, Comte de Lally-Tollendal. The son only learned his father's name the day after the execution of General Lally, and he spent the years of his early manhood in striving to obtain the reversal of the sentence which had condemned his father as a traitor. In all his efforts he was opposed before the Parlements of Paris, Rouen, and Dijon, by Espréménil, and this caused a great deal of ill-feeling between the two men. His eloquence finally proved successful, and the sentence was reversed in 1778. In collecting evidence in favor of his father, he had spent much time in England, where he made the acquaintance of Pitt and Burke and imbibed a sincere admiration for the English constitution.

He was elected to the States-General by the Noblesse of Paris. In the chamber of the Noblesse at Versailles he had taken a seat by the side of the Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, and had accompanied him, with the rest of the minority of the Noblesse, to the National Assembly on the 25 June.

General Lally married a French lady of noble family, from whom his son, who was legitimatized, inherited his titles.

When the electors on the 13 July issued orders for the enrollment of two hundred men in each district, to patrol



MARQUIS DE LALLY-TOLLENDAL

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the streets and maintain order, there was no thought of the organization of a permanent civic guard. But on the day the King visited Paris this temporary force was changed with his tacit approval into a powerful National Guard with La Fayette at its head. Now La Fayette had very different ideas regarding the new force, and he proceeded to carry them out. It certainly was not necessary to have an army of 60,000 men to maintain order in Paris, but that was the number of men which La Fayette wished to organize. His plan also was eventually to combine into one great organization all of the National Guards of France, and in this way to support the reformers in the Assembly. He also desired that this formidable armed force should be recruited from one class only — the bourgeoisie. He had no sympathy with the lower classes. By birth and education he was an aristocrat.

Gilbert-Mottier, Marquis de La Fayette, was descended from one of the oldest families in France. He was born at the château of Chavagnac in Auvergne, on the 6 September 1757. While still at school in Paris he entered the Mousquetaires, and the following year, when only fourteen, he married a granddaughter of the Maréchal-Duc de Noailles. In 1773 he inherited an income of 125,000 francs a year from his grandfather. He was in garrison at Metz when he heard of the revolt of the American colonies, and decided to offer them his sword. He was very cordially received by Washington, who made him a major-general when he was only twenty years of age. If he had not been vain by nature, the reception he received in America might easily have turned his head. Washington was anxious to secure the aid of France, and he took every occasion to couple La Fayette's name with his own, so that the young Frenchman gained almost as much renown, not only in America but also in France, as the immortal Washington himself. When he returned to France at the conclusion of the war he found himself regarded as a great soldier, and his conceit was almost unbearable.

In the convocation of the States-General, La Fayette

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saw his opportunity to become "the liberator of both worlds," but to his surprise and disgust he did not find himself so prominent as he expected. In the Assembly he was outshone by Mirabeau, whom he thoroughly disliked. This feeling of jealousy was later to prevent a coöperation with the great tribune which might have saved the Throne.

Now on the 17 July came his great opportunity, and he hoped to win for himself the highest power in France. Although he was disliked and distrusted by the Queen, he probably never wished to found a republic, but had a vague idea that he would like a limited monarchy with himself as mayor of the palace. "Had he been able," says Mr. H. Morse Stephens, "to think of France, or of Paris, before himself and his own glory, he might have obtained as great fame as George Washington did in America. No man with such great opportunities used them so ill; while of Mirabeau, his rival, it may be said that no one with so few opportunities used them so well."

CHAPTER SEVEN

1789

THE MOB AT VERSAILLES

War on the Châteaux — Disorders at Paris — Action of the Assembly — The Great Renunciation — Debate on the Constitution — The Veto — The Court Plans a Counter-Revolution — Banquet of the Body-Guard — Excitement at Paris — The Mob Marches on Versailles — Preparations of the Court — The Assembly — Indecision of the King — Plans for Flight — Arrival of La Fayette — Attack on the Palace — Madame Campan's Story — The King Goes to Paris — Close of the Second Period of the Revolution — Retirement of Mounier

THE storming of the Bastille was immediately followed by an outbreak of violence all over France. Taine calls it, "*l'anarchie spontanée*"; but it was not a spontaneous anarchy: it was an anarchy which was encouraged, and in some cases incited, by the actions of the National Assembly.

In the cities, municipal governments and national guards were everywhere created in imitation of Paris. In the rural districts, the peasants, impatient at the delay in abolishing feudal dues, took the matter in their own hands. They turned upon their oppressors; seized and destroyed the records, and not infrequently burned the châteaux with the odious documents. During the final weeks of July this destructive process was carried on everywhere, with scenes of excess and disorder. In this way, feudalism was everywhere abolished — not legally but practically.

But Paris continued to be the great centre of disturbance. Said Bailly: "Everybody knew how to command, and nobody knew how to obey." The new National Guard failed to keep any kind of order. Foulon and Bertier were

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executed in the public squares of the city. Foulon had been made a member of the new ministry appointed after the dismissal of Necker. He had been abominably slandered by those who attributed to him the horrible remark, "If the people have no bread, let them eat hay." He was arrested at Viry and brought to Paris on the 22 July. La Fayette tried in vain to save him. The doors of the Hôtel-de-Ville were broken in, and the victim was tortured in a terrible manner. Then his son-in-law Bertier was hacked to pieces, for the crime of having done his duty, in serving gunpowder to the royal troops on the eve of the fourteenth.

The news of these murders filled the Assembly with dismay. It was decided to strengthen the hands of Bailly with a legally elected municipality, instead of the body of electors, and La Fayette was directed to take measures to prevent such outbreaks in the future. He ordered the gates of the Palais-Royal, the centre of all disturbances, closed at sunset, and some appearance of order was restored.

With the exception of Mirabeau, the members of the Assembly do not seem to have recognized the gravity of these occurrences. While châteaux were burning all over France, and nobles flying into exile, the Assembly was debating whether or not the new Constitution should be prefaced with a Declaration of the Rights of Men! The members were a lot of theorists who did not understand what practical legislation meant.

From these dreams the Assembly was rudely awakened on the fourth of August when a report was read on the state of France. A decree was drafted, intended "to calm the provinces." Then at eight o'clock, as the session was about to close, the young Vicomte de Noailles, a cousin of La Fayette, began to speak. He said that if châteaux were burning here and there; if there was rioting everywhere, and nowhere peace, it was due to the seignorial rights and dues: the feudal system must be swept away! Nobody stopped to think that this "Jean sans Terre," this ruined man, a son of a younger branch

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of a noble family, had no authority to speak for the *grands seigneurs* of France. The Duc d'Aiguillon, not to be outdone by this penniless nobleman, supported the resolution.

A wave of wild generosity swept over the Assembly. One after another the young liberal noblemen followed with offers of fresh sacrifices. One after another, all the old feudal rights were abolished. Amidst universal applause, "every man generously gave away what he did not own." In the words of Mirabeau it was a night of *orgie*. Many a noble family was ruined by this "great renunciation," as it was called, and some never recovered from this blow to their fortunes.

By eight o'clock the next morning some thirty decrees had been adopted, putting into effect the most extraordinary social reforms any nation has ever known. Then the deputies proceeded to the Palace Chapel, where a *Te Deum* was sung!

The deputies, however, were mistaken if they thought that the people, touched by so much generosity, would settle down quietly, and cease rioting. The rural mind failed to understand why the hated taxes, which were all abolished, were still to be levied until new arrangements were made. The peasants could not get it through their heads that a revenue was still necessary for national purposes, even if the feudal duties were abrogated.

During the month of August and a part of September the deputies continued to discuss the Constitution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the debates were long and violent. The committee on the Constitution, of which the principal members were Mounier, Talleyrand and Sieyès, recommended that the new Assembly should have two chambers the same as England. On the 11 September this proposition was rejected by 849 to 89. Mounier contemplated resigning, but was propitiated by being elected president of the Assembly on the 28 September. The presidents of the Constituent Assembly were elected by the absolute majority every fortnight, and were eligible for reëlection.

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Another question which caused much more trouble was that of the king's veto. This was advocated by Mirabeau with all his influence, and would probably have been adopted except for the stupid interference of Necker. In place of the absolute veto, a "suspensive veto" was proposed by La Fayette. Under this plan a law would go into effect, in spite of the king's veto, if passed again at the end of six months. This ridiculous compromise was adopted on the 11 September by a vote of 684 to 325.

Veto was a new word for the Parisians, and nothing so excites the passions of a mob as words that it does not understand. The demagogues seized this opportunity to stir up the populace, and the indignation was great. Even the scarcity of food was attributed to the suspensory veto.

The Court took advantage of the agitation in Paris and the division in the Assembly to form new plans. The Assembly was no longer popular and the Queen was thinking seriously of a dissolution. She believed that the hour of reaction had come and that a counter-revolution was possible. The first plan was for the King to flee to Metz, to the midst of the Army; there call around him the nobility, and the troops who continued loyal, and declare the Assembly and the City of Paris in a state of rebellion. This meant civil war, and Louis, with the memory of Charles the First constantly in his mind, refused to sanction the proposal.

It was then decided to summon troops to Versailles on the pretext of protecting the Court and the Assembly against the movements in Paris. The household guards were doubled, and the Flanders Regiment was ordered to Versailles. The officers of this fine regiment, on their arrival, were fêted at the Château, and were even received at the Queen's card tables. Everything was done to secure their devotion. On the first of October a banquet was given them by the King's Garde du Corps.

The Guards requested that for this purpose they should be allowed to use the great theatre of the Château at

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the end of the gallery of the Chapel. This superb hall, which was reserved for only the most important fêtes of the Court, could be converted into a ball-room by placing over the parterre a floor on a level with the boxes. At the tables were seated alternately one of the Gardes du Corps and an officer of the Flanders Regiment. The theatre was handsomely decorated and brilliantly illuminated. The boxes were filled with spectators, and when the orchestra played the air, "O Richard! O mon roi!" the shouts of "Vive le Roi!" shook the roof. Toasts were drunk to the King and the royal family, and the enthusiasm increased every moment.

The Queen had wisely decided not to be present, and it would have been well if she had adhered to this resolution. All at once it was announced that the King and Queen were coming to the banquet. The sovereigns appeared in a box, the King attired in hunting-dress, the Queen leaning on his arm, and carrying the little Dauphin, who was about four years of age. There followed a scene of wild enthusiasm: on all sides were heard praises of their Majesties, exclamations of affection, and shouts of "Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive le Dauphin!"

It has been stated that the national colors were discarded and white cockades were substituted, but Madame Campan, who was present, denies that this was the case. Nevertheless there was a mixture of intoxication with these ebullitions of joy, and a thousand extravagances were committed. When the King left the theatre he was escorted to his apartments by all the officers present, and many of them danced under his windows, while the guests spread through the galleries of the Château.

The news of the "orgy of Versailles" produced a great sensation in Paris. The agitators were delighted: here was the pretext they had been searching for the past month. During the three following days there were rumors of conspiracies, and counter-revolutions; and the indignation against the Court was increased by the scarcity of food. On the fifth the insurrection broke out in a violent manner. By five o'clock in the morning 10,000 women

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were running riot. Their ranks were swelled by many men masquerading in female attire. An hour later this army was marching wildly on Versailles. Who would dare to fire on starving women?

The mob had hardly started before the National Guard decided to follow. La Fayette at first refused, but the sentiment was too strong for him, and at four o'clock they set out.

In the meantime, at Versailles, the Court was living in a fool's paradise. At ten o'clock in the morning the King had left to shoot in the woods of Meudon. The Queen was entirely alone in her gardens at the Trianon, which she then visited for the last time in her life. A note was sent to urge her to return to the Château, and at the same time a messenger was dispatched to request the King to leave his sport. The Flanders Regiment was ordered to occupy the Place d'Armes, and the Gardes du Corps saddled their horses. Couriers were also sent to call the Swiss from Courbevoie. There was no longer time to defend the bridge at Sèvres, and in the absence of the King there was no one to give orders to resist the hostile demonstration. The gates everywhere were closed and all the outlets of the Château were barricaded. It was the first time that the doors of the palace had ever been closed. Finally, at about three o'clock, the King arrived very leisurely on horseback, by the Grande Avenue, and went to shut himself up in his apartment, without stopping to respond to the cheers from the troops which hailed his appearance.

The Assembly, which had met at an early hour, had received the King's reply to the decrees, regarding the veto, and the organization of the legislative powers, which he refused to sanction except in part. There was an outcry of indignation from the Left, or party of extreme reformers, and Mirabeau used the most violent language yet heard in the Assembly, declaring as he left the tribune that if necessary he would denounce the Queen herself. To avoid the impending scandal, Mounier was about to adjourn the sitting, when the women arrived

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from Paris. They surged like a flood around the Menus-Plaisirs, and twenty of them were admitted to the hall. When the deputies promised to go to the King, and force him to grant his "sanction," the women cried "Your fine talk will not give us bread! Talk to us about bread!" They kept perpetually going back to this question of food.

Giving up the chair to the Bishop of Langres, his predecessor, Mounier proceeded to the Château. He found the palace in a state of siege, and the ministers in a panic. The majority of the Council were in favor of using force to drive the mob back, but Louis said there could be no firing on women, and orders were issued not to serve out cartridges to the men.

The King could not make up his mind to anything. To Mounier he at first refused his sanction, and then gave in and granted it. At eight o'clock, with tears in his eyes, he signed the paper and handed it to Mounier, who started at once for the Menus-Plaisirs, giving out the news as he went.

As soon as Mounier had left the Château, preparations were made for the flight of the royal family, which had already been decided upon. At eleven o'clock the order was given to prepare the carriages for departure. No one seems to have thought that the mob would offer any opposition, but the moment the crowd saw the doors of the stable opened they rushed in and cut the traces and led the horses back. Later in the night another plan was formed, but this was abandoned at the suggestion of Necker, who had arrived at the Palace. It was decided to await the coming of La Fayette, who was known to be on the way from Paris.

At midnight the 30,000 troops of the National Guard finally began to appear, drenched from the rain and overcome with fatigue. Leaving his soldiers in the Avenue de Paris, near the assembly hall, La Fayette advanced to the Château and requested to speak with the King. Louis at once gave orders to have him come up. La Fayette, so worn out that he was hardly able to stand upright,

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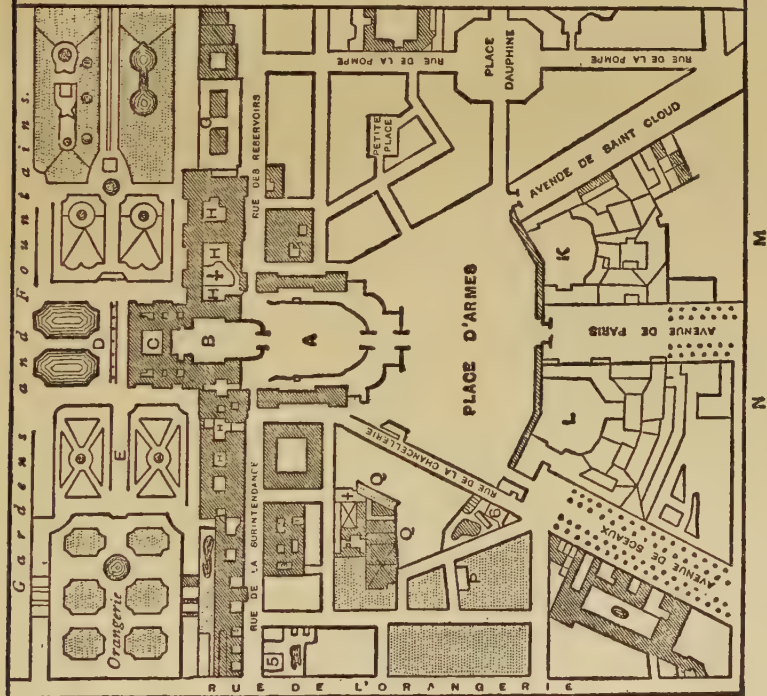
ascended the Marble Staircase and passed through the *Œil-de-Bœuf* to the King's apartment. Very much moved, he said, "Sire, I thought that it was better to come here, to die at the feet of Your Majesty, rather than to perish uselessly on the *Place de Grève*." After a few gracious words, the King asked what the people wanted. La Fayette replied: "The people demand bread, and the Guard desire to take up their posts around Your Majesty." The King acquiesced, and the National Guard were assigned to the posts formerly occupied by the *Gardes Françaises* outside the Palace, while the interior was guarded by the Swiss and the body-guard.

The Assembly continued in session until three o'clock, when Mounier adjourned the meeting on the advice of La Fayette, who, after a visit to the *Menus-Plaisirs*, went to the *Hôtel de Noailles* to pass the night. At this hour everything in the city seemed calm. The King dismissed all the persons who were still in his rooms and retired for the night. The Queen had gone to her own apartment at two o'clock. Tired out with the events of so distressing a day, she ordered her two women to go to bed, and retired.

Let us examine with a well-informed cicerone, Monsieur Le Roi, the scene of the events about to take place.

To-day, when the visitor has passed the large gate opening upon the *Place d'Armes*, he enters an immense court extending without interruption as far as the *Château*. Under the reign of Louis the Sixteenth, beyond this outer gate, there was another iron fence, placed between the two projecting wings of the palace, about where the equestrian statue of Louis the Fourteenth now stands. The space between these two railings was called the *Cour des Ministres*, on account of the dwellings on either side where the ministers lived. At that time, as to-day, there was a gate opening from this court on the *Rue des Réservoirs*, and another, on the *Rue de la Surintendance* (*Rue Gambetta*).

Beyond the *Cour des Ministres* came the *Cour Royale*,



REFERENCE.

- A. *Cour des Ministres.*
- B. *Cour Royale.*
- C. *Cour de Marbre.*
- D. *Parterre d'Eau.*
- E. *Parterre des Fleurs.*
- Q. *The Reservoirs.*
- H. *The Chateau of Versailles.*
- K. *The Great Stables.*
- L. *The Small Stables.*
- M. *The Kennel.*
- N. *The Hotel des Menus Plaisirs where the State General met.*
- P. *The Tennis Court.*
- Q. *Convent of the Recollets.*
- 1. *Post Office.*
- 2. *War Office.*
- 3. *Foreign Office and Ministry of the Marine.*
- 4. *Controller-General of the Finances.*
- 5. *Ministry of Public Works, or "Batiments du Roi."*
- 8. *Chancellerie.*

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which extended to the small space between the buildings of the old château of Louis the Thirteenth, and bore, as at present, the name of the Cour de Marbre, on account of its pavement.

We can now understand the measures of defence taken by La Fayette, and see how inadequate they were. All day long, on the fifth, the mob had gathered outside the gate to the Cour des Ministres, furious over this barrier opposed to their rage. This gate, so important to the defence of the Château, was protected only by two members of the National Guard; and the entrance from the Cour Royale to the Marble Staircase, which led to the royal apartments, was guarded also by only two Swiss soldiers.

At the top of this staircase, a landing leads on the left to the suite of the King: the guard-room, the Œil-de-Bœuf, the bedroom of Louis the Fourteenth, the Council Chamber, and finally, on the opposite side of the Cour de Marbre, to the private rooms occupied by Louis.

At the right of the Marble Staircase, beyond the Grande Salle des Gardes, which faces the landing, is the suite of the Queen: the first antechamber, called also the Salon du Grand Couvert; then the second antechamber, known as the Salon de la Reine; and finally the chambre à coucher of Marie-Antoinette.

About six o'clock in the morning, just as the day was beginning to break, the mob tried to invade the Palace. They were armed with axes and sabres, and in some way had obtained a key to the outer gate which led to the Cour des Ministres from the Rue de la Surintendance. The crowd, which seemed to be guided by some one who knew the way, struck down the guards in the Cour Royale, mounted the grand stairway which led to the apartment of the Queen, and entered the guard-room. The only guard who was on duty there ran into the antechamber beyond and bolted the door. The mob followed and smashed the panels of the door. In the meantime the guard had rushed to the door of the Queen's bed-

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chamber, upon which he rapped loudly, at the same time crying: "Madame, save yourself! They are coming to kill you!"

The Queen, without stopping to dress, fled by her cabinet de toilette to the *Œil-de-Bœuf*, to gain the chamber of the King, situated upon the opposite side of the *Cour de Marbre*. In the meantime the King had gone to her room by a secret passageway through the *entresol*, but finding she had fled he returned again to his own apartment, where he found his family reunited.

In connection with the events of this night of the fifth of October there is a scandalous, but not very probable story about the Queen, which is mentioned here only because it has been given currency by many serious historians. O'Meara reports that Napoleon stated at Saint-Helena that Madame Campan had a very indifferent opinion of Marie-Antoinette, and that she told him that a person well known for his attachment to the Queen came to see her at Versailles on the evening in question and remained all night. When the palace was stormed by the mob early on the following morning, Marie-Antoinette fled, undressed, from her own room to that of the King for shelter, and the lover descended from the window. When Madame Campan went to seek the Queen in her room, she found that Marie-Antoinette had escaped, but she discovered a garment which the favorite had left behind in his haste, and which she immediately recognized.

The same story is told in the *Memoirs of Lord Holland*, on the authority of Talleyrand, who also said that he had it from Madame Campan. The editor of Madame Campan's book refers to the matter darkly in a note, and attempts in an ambiguous way to deny it.

The report was very carefully investigated by Croker, who calls attention to the facts that the Queen's window was thirty feet from the ground, and that the palace was surrounded by a hostile mob, and then expresses his disbelief that the Queen should have dedicated such a

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night to a secret intrigue. But he weakens his argument by stating that there is no evidence that Fersen was at Versailles that night. He wrote before the publication of Fersen's letter to his father, under date of the 9 October 1789, in which he states that he was a witness of the events of that terrible night, and returned to Paris in one of the royal carriages.

At several points in the story of the Queen's life, Madame Campan displays a very superficial knowledge of events, but it is very remarkable that she never once mentions the name of Fersen. She certainly must have known of the deep attachment which existed between him and the Queen, but she chose to draw a veil over that episode. It is well known that Fersen made all the arrangements for the flight to Varennes and spent a large part of his fortune in the preparations, but even in this connection Madame Campan is silent. Yet she does not hesitate, although "with reluctance," to "enter very minutely on a defence of the Queen against two infamous accusations: . . . the unworthy suspicions of too strong an attachment for the Comte d'Artois, and of the motives for the close friendship which subsisted between the Queen, the Princesse de Lamballe, and the Duchesse de Polignac." In the case of Fersen, however, she kept silent.

A very credible explanation of this reticence of Madame Campan is given by Lord Acton. She wished to recover her position, which the fall of the Empire had ruined. Therefore some who had seen her manuscript have affirmed that she suppressed passages which were adverse to the Queen; for the same reason that, in the Fersen correspondence, certain expressions are omitted and replaced by suspicious asterisks.

No evidence as to the truth of the allegation can be found in the letters of Fersen; unfortunately the careful diary which he kept from 1780-1791, and confided to Baron de Frantz when he left Paris, was burned by the latter for fear that it might be found in his keeping. So this story, like the legend of the "Man with the Iron

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Mask," will probably remain one of the minor mysteries of history, which will never be solved.

At seven o'clock La Fayette finally appeared on the scene. He found the Château already occupied by the National Guards. The Marble Court was filled by the mob, who demanded the King and Queen. They appeared on the balcony, accompanied by La Fayette, and he addressed the crowd and promised that the King and Queen should return to Paris with them.

At one o'clock the royal carriages left Versailles, escorted by La Fayette on his white horse, and followed by the National Guard, and the mob who were mad with joy. At the gates of the city the King was met by Bailly, and the procession then proceeded to the Hôtel-de-Ville, where it arrived about eight o'clock. After listening to several addresses, the royal family appeared at the windows and were loudly applauded by the people. At ten o'clock they finally reached the Tuileries.

The events of the fifth and sixth of October form a complement to those of the 14 July, and close the second period of the Revolution. Royalty was for the second time humiliated, and was forced to return to Paris after an absence of one hundred and twenty years. If the Assembly after the fall of the Bastille had established a strong constitution the events of these October days would never have taken place, but the deputies had wasted their time in useless debates. The King had spent his time as usual in hunting and the Revolution had followed its course.

Louis was now a prisoner, but he was still loved by his people, and Paris was happy to have the royal family once more in its midst. It was still possible for the King to moderate the march of the Revolution: the game was not yet entirely lost. All depended upon his adroitness, and above all upon his courage.

The October days were followed by a second panic for emigration. Many of the nobility retired to Brussels,

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or followed the Comte d'Artois to Turin. Most of them regarded the emigration as a pleasant foreign trip which would soon be over: none realized that it was to last for twenty-five years.

At the same time Mounier resigned both his seat in the Assembly and the presidency; and Lally-Tollendal, and more than a score of the members of the Right, also resigned their seats. Thus ended the political career of Mounier.

Jean-Joseph Mounier was born at Grenoble in 1758. He was the son of a small shopkeeper, but his father was sufficiently prosperous to send him to college, and later to the university at Orange, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Law in 1776. Three years later he was admitted to the bar, and in 1783 purchased the office of *juge royal*, one of the two criminal judgeships of his province. He learned English and was a profound student of British institutions and legal practice.

After resigning his seat in the Assembly, he returned to his native province. Here he made an attempt to arouse the provincial spirit of independence against the Assembly, but entirely failed. He tried to resume his life at Grenoble, but his fellow-citizens no longer honored and respected him. At last, in May 1790, after he had been several times insulted in the street, Mounier retired from his native country in disgust, and, after taking refuge for a time in Geneva, he eventually became tutor to the eldest son of Lord Hawke in England.

No man had possessed so high a public reputation as Mounier or had done more for the cause of the Revolution, but he was essentially a theorist, and in the critical moment he failed. It is much to be regretted that so distinguished a career should have ended at so early a period of the Revolution. His really great ability and moderation might have done much at a later date to control the excesses of the radicals.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1789

THE ASSEMBLY AT PARIS

The Château of the Tuileries — Difficulty of Finding Rooms for the Royal Family — Return of Mme. de Lamballe — Life of the King and Queen — The Assembly Moves to Paris — The Manège — The Clubs — Appearance of Parties — The Right — Espréménil and Mirabeau-Tonneau — The Bishops — The Abbé Maury — The Left — The Triumvirate: Duport, Barnave and Lameth — The Centre — The Bishop of Autun — The Military Committee — Mirabeau and the Court — His Plan for a Ministry Blocked by the Assembly

ON the sixth of October the royal family slept in the Tuileries. Since the year 1665, this palace had not been inhabited by the kings of France; but it had not been empty, as erroneously stated by many historians. Thanks to the interesting researches of a recent writer we are able to obtain a vivid picture of the Tuileries at this time. The old dwelling of the Valois kings had been gradually invaded and taken possession of by a population of the most heterogeneous kind. For over a century the former royal residence had been overrun by a motley crowd of poor nobles, ladies of quality in reduced circumstances, pensioners of the King, and various minor officials. At first, permission to dwell in the deserted palace had been given to a few minor attachés of the government whose duties compelled them to live in Paris, but gradually new applicants found admission, until every vacant space was occupied. The Château had in fact become a sort of ruin in which these queer birds of prey built their nests. Once inside the walls the residents had made havoc with the interior of

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the building, erecting partitions, making openings, building stairways, and in general changing things at their pleasure. According to an official report of 1783 they had made such alterations even in the royal apartments that it was impossible for the King to pass a night there.

Such was the state of the Château on the morning of this October day when the architect received orders from Versailles to prepare the palace for the reception of the royal family that night. It was a herculean task, to which the cleaning of the Augean stables was a bagatelle; but it was duly accomplished. In spite of tears and protests, the tenants were unceremoniously evicted.

It would be difficult even for those who remember the Tuileries as they appeared before their destruction by the Commune fifty years ago, to picture this historical palace as it was in 1789. On the side of the Carrousel, the palace was so concealed by private hôtels, barracks, stables, and other buildings, that the passer-by could see, above the walls which enclosed the Cour Royale, only the high roofs of the three pavilions. These buildings were not removed, and the space between the palace and the Louvre cleared, until the reign of Napoleon the Third.

Where the Gardens are now enclosed by the railing along the Rue de Rivoli, there was a terrace, and a high wall which bordered a long narrow alley, which was used for exercising horses. At the easterly end of this alley, near the Pavillon de Marsan, were the Royal Stables, the entry to which was in the Rue Saint-Honoré, almost opposite the Church of Saint-Roch. At the other end was the Manège, or Riding School, which will be described later.

On the line of the present arcades of the Rue de Rivoli were the unbroken walls which closed the gardens of the hôtels on the Rue Saint-Honoré. The large convents of the Feuillants, the Capuchins, and the Assumption, with their extensive gardens, occupied the space between the present streets of the 29-Juillet and Saint-Florentin.

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On the side of the Place Louis-Quinze, now the Place de la Concorde, high terraces and a turning bridge across a moat made the Tuileries Gardens inaccessible, and there was a wall on the south side which formed a barrier along the line of the quays as far as the Pavillon de Flore.

The only entrances to the Gardens were by a narrow passage which ran between the buildings of the Feuillants and the Capuchins on the line of the present Rue de Castiglione, or by the small Rue du Dauphin, which opened from the Rue Saint-Honoré, about opposite the Church of Saint-Roch.

The historic palace of the Tuileries owed its origin to a caprice of that most superstitious of queens, Catherine de Médicis. Disgusted with the palace of the Tournelles, where her husband, Henri Deux, had died, she returned to the Louvre. Near this palace, on the future sites of the Carrousel, the Tuileries, and the Gardens, just outside the city walls, there was then a manufactory of tiles (*tuiles*), from which the name of the new palace was derived. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a fine hôtel had been erected on this site, which François Premier purchased for his mother, the Duchesse d'Angoulême. This hôtel, and several adjoining properties, were acquired by Catherine de Médicis, and upon the site she had constructed the Château of the Tuileries. The architects were Philibert Delorme and Jean Bullant, who made of the new palace one of the most beautiful examples of the French Renaissance.

The palace, as first constructed, had not the vast proportions which it subsequently attained. Delorme erected the central Pavillon de l'Horloge, and the two wings to the north and south, "le grand avant-corps du milieu," and Bullant built the two end pavilions, known as the Pavillons de Médicis. Under Henri Quatre the work was continued to the Pavillon de Flore, close to the site then occupied by the Porte-Neuve, on the city walls. At the same time the great galleries were constructed along the Seine, to connect the new palace with the Louvre.

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The space to the north of the Château was unoccupied, except by the detached buildings of the Royal Stables, until the reign of Louis Quatorze, who finished the work by building the north wing and the Pavillon de Marsan, which fronts on the present Rue de Rivoli. As finally completed, the palace was 1075 feet long and 69 feet wide.

To the east of the palace there were originally cultivated fields, as far as the Rue Saint-Nicaise, now closed, which then extended to the river.

To the west, on the site of the present Gardens, there was a vast pleasure-garden, containing a grove, a pond, an orangery; also stables, and dwellings for the servants.

In the fields bordering on the Rue Saint-Nicaise was located the "Jardin de Mademoiselle," so called because it had been planted by the daughter of Gaston d'Orléans, the "Grande Mademoiselle," who was a cousin of Louis the Fourteenth. In 1662, that monarch destroyed the garden, and gave on the site the famous fête of the Carrousel, from which the Place du Carrousel took its name.

At this time, between the Carrousel and the Château, there were three large courts, which were separated from each other, and also from the Carrousel, by walls seven or eight feet high, with three portes-cochères opening on the Place. The central court, before the Pavillon de l'Horloge, was called the Cour Royale, and the courts to the south and north, the Cour des Princes and the Cour des Suisses, respectively.

The central pavilion of the Château was entered by the grand vestibule, at the right of which the staircase of honor led to the large Salle des Cent-Suisses, subsequently known, under the Empire, as the Salle des Maréchaux, from the fourteen life-size portraits of the Marshals of France. This salon occupied all of the central pavillion, and connected the two wings of the palace.

In the south wing, extending to the Pavillon de Flore, there was a suite of state apartments, all facing on the

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courts. Back of these apartments were two suites of private rooms, facing on the Gardens.

In the north wing, between the central pavilion and that of Marsan, were located the Chapel, and the Salle des Machines, used as a theatre.

The Gardens, to the west of the palace, were laid out by Le Nôtre, the celebrated landscape-architect who designed the gardens at Versailles. These gardens soon became the favorite rendez-vous and promenade of the Parisians.

At first thought it may seem strange that so wholesale a clearance should have been necessary in order to accommodate the royal family, but this surprise vanishes when we read the long list of the court attendants. They constituted a regular army. Even the hundreds of rooms in the palace were not sufficient to hold them all, and they overflowed into the buildings in the neighborhood. The display of so much pomp and ceremony before the unaccustomed eyes of the Parisians was just so much proof of the folly of the throne, and increased the hostility of the populace.

The first night it was difficult to find beds even for the royal family. The persons of the suite were obliged to sleep on tables or benches. It took several days to render the palace even partially habitable. At first the Queen and her children slept in the same room, the latter on camp-beds. This chamber also served as a salon for Marie-Antoinette, and it was there that she received the visit of Madame de Staël, to whom we are indebted for this detail.

Soon, however, the life at the Tuileries was better organized. The King took up his quarters on the first floor in the suite of Louis the Fourteenth, and Marie-Antoinette occupied the apartment in the *rez-de-chaussée*. The Dauphin was in the Pavillon de Flore, but a little later Louis took the two children with him. Small stairways were constructed to connect the two floors.

After the emigration of the Duchesse de Polignac,

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Madame de Tourzel was appointed Governess of the royal children. From that time she shared all of the misfortunes of the family.

The second week in October the Princesse de Lamballe appeared at the Château. She had returned from London through devotion to her friend. She was cordially received, and resumed her functions as superintendent, with a lodging in the Tuileries. The royal suite at this time, although not a tenth so large as formerly at Versailles, comprised six physicians, surgeons and apothecaries for the King; as many for the Queen; and the same number for the royal children, with other attendants and servants in the same ratio!

The existence of Marie-Antoinette was sad and monotonous. She took her déjeuner alone, and then received a visit from the King and her children. At one o'clock the family dined together, and afterwards the Queen played a game of billiards with the King, to give him a little exercise. They had supper together at eight-thirty and retired at eleven. When the weather was fine, the Queen took a walk in the Gardens. On Thursday and Sunday afternoons she held Court, and in the evening attended the "jeu du Roi." After a few weeks La Fayette requested the King and Queen to go out occasionally in the city, to show that they were not prisoners in the Tuileries.

The Princesse de Lamballe gave in her apartments some brilliant parties, which were largely attended. Marie-Antoinette was present on a few occasions; but later she remained at home.

All the nobility who had not left Paris made a point of paying their respects to the King, and called frequently at the Château.

In the meantime, the Assembly at Versailles was hesitating as to what course to pursue. On the 6 October the members had passed an act declaring the "King and the National Assembly inseparable during the session," but the deputies were in fear of Paris. The

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city authorities having given the assurance that order was reëstablished, on the 12 October the Assembly finally decided to transfer its place of meeting to the city.

During the last days at Versailles, the deputies passed a decree abolishing the old title of "King of France and Navarre," and substituting for it the style of "King of the French." Some members proposed a still more radical change: "Louis the First, Emperor of the French." These were men ahead of their times, who were to wait fifteen years before they heard this glorious title borne by a man very different from "Louis the First"!

On the 19 October, in the midst of a great deployment of troops, the Assembly entered Paris, and took possession of the hall of the palace of the Archbishop, near Notre-Dame. Three weeks later, in consequence of the fall of one of the galleries, it moved on the 9 November to the Manège, which had been hastily prepared for its reception.

The Manège was one of the four royal riding-schools built by Louis the Fourteenth for the instruction of the young nobility. It was an oblong building, about 240 feet in length by 60 feet in width, and was situated just east of the site of the present Hôtel Continental. It stood on no main street, and could only be reached by the narrow passage of the Feuillants, or the long alley from the Royal Stables, already described. It was about as unsuitable a place for the purpose as could well have been selected. It consisted only of one long narrow hall, so that the committee-rooms and library had to be established in the neighboring convent of the Feuillants. Next to the Manège on the east, and bordering the Tuileries Gardens, stretched the broad Terrasse des Feuillants, which soon became the regular meeting-place of the deputies, and played a part somewhat similar to the terrace of the English House of Commons in our own day.

When the alterations were completed it was found

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that the hall was much better adapted for debating than the Menus-Plaisirs at Versailles, but the management of the three large galleries was a source of trouble from the first. All Paris crowded the benches and took the keenest interest in the proceedings, applauding or hissing the speakers at will. In time this had a profound effect on the course of the Revolution. Orators with radical tendencies were encouraged to play more and more to the galleries, and the deputies of more moderate views were intimidated by the fear of mob violence.

Close to the hall of the Manège, upon a site where later was built the Saint-Honoré market, the Jacobins held their tumultuous meetings, in the ancient monastery founded in 1611 by the Jacobin or Dominican monks. The club had three sessions a week, which commenced at seven o'clock in the evening. The hall was rectangular in shape, with four rows of seats on the long sides, and tribunes for the public at the ends. In the middle of the hall were placed face to face the rostrum and the desk of the president. By the month of April 1791, there were affiliated clubs of the Jacobins in two thousand cities and towns of France.

Not far from the Jacobin Club there met for a short time, in the monastery of the Feuillants, Rue Saint-Honoré, the club of the moderate Revolutionists, the friends of La Fayette. But this new club did not have a great success: moderation was not the order of the day; and the last of December 1791, the doors of the club were closed.

At the other end of Paris, on the south side, there was a club even more ardent than that of the Jacobins: the Cordeliers. The Cordeliers were nearly all members of the club of the Jacobins, while very few of the Jacobins belonged to the other club. The chief members were Danton, Marat, and Hébert. The place of their meetings was the former monastery of the Cordeliers, upon the Place de l'École-de-Médecine, not far from the Luxembourg. The Cordeliers took their name from the religious democrats of the order of the minor brothers

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of Saint-François, who wore, with a garment of coarse gray cloth, a girdle of cords.

During the debates on the veto at Versailles, parties began to appear in the Assembly, and at Paris they became yet more clearly defined. To use the modern French terms, there was the Right, composed of the moderate supporters of the monarchy, and the extreme Right, made up of devoted royalists. On the opposite side of the chamber were the Left and the extreme Left, consisting of moderate and radical reformers.

The extreme Right, which devoted itself mainly to the task of obstruction, was headed by Espréménil, and the Vicomte de Mirabeau, a younger brother of the great tribune.

Espréménil was born in 1746 at Pondicherry, the capital of the French East Indies. He inherited a large fortune, and after gaining some reputation as an avocat, he purchased the office of a counsellor in the Parlement of Paris. He drew up the report on the sad affair of General de Lally, who was executed in the Bastille in 1766, and violently opposed all the efforts of his son, Lally-Tollendal, to rehabilitate the memory of his father. In consequence, a profound hatred had arisen between the two men. He was most active in the affair of the diamond necklace, and commented freely on the conduct of the Queen, which did not increase his popularity at Court. He was elected a delegate to the States-General by the Noblesse of Paris, and in the month of May at once took the lead of the conservative element. He did not enter the National Assembly until the 27 June, and then became the leader of the section opposed to all reform. His personal reputation was bad, and he was disliked by the courtiers, who submitted with reluctance to his leadership.

A politician of a very different type was Louis-Auguste Riqueti, Vicomte de Mirabeau, who was commonly known as "Mirabeau-Tonneau," or "Barrel-Mirabeau," from his figure, and his capacity for containing liquor.

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Like most of the young nobles, he had entered the army, and had served with distinction in America, where he was one of the French officers selected by Washington for the Society of the Cincinnati. He had been elected deputy by the Noblesse of the province of Limousin, where his mother held large estates. He was very jealous of his brother's reputation as an orator, and tried to rival him, but had little success except as a chronic obstructionist and waster of the time of the Assembly.

Of far more importance than the small body of nobles and courtiers led by these two men was the compact body of nearly one hundred bishops, who sat with the extreme Right, in the belief that the Church was in as great danger as the Monarchy. Their leader was the learned and accomplished Archbishop of Aix. He was a politician as well as a scholar, and was in every respect superior to the ordinary French prelate. While he supported the prerogatives of the King and of the Church, he was too wise to put himself in opposition to the majority of the Assembly, and he therefore voted on the fourth of August in favor of abolishing the feudal privileges.

On the Right, as opposed to the extreme Right, sat the ablest supporters of the Monarchy. The leaders of this section were Malouet, Maury, and Lally-Tollendal.

Malouet was the only son of a minor official of a little village in Auvergne, where he was born in 1740. In 1762 he entered the colonial service and lived several years in the West Indies. On his way home in 1778 he was captured by a British cruiser, and spent a year as a prisoner of war in England, during which time he had an opportunity of studying English institutions.

Maury was one of the best debaters in the Assembly. He was the son of a Huguenot, and was born near Avignon in 1746. He was educated at the Jesuit College in that city, where he took orders. At the age of twenty he went to Paris, where his success was so great that he became the most popular preacher in the city. He made a

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specialty of pulpit oratory, and hoped, notwithstanding his humble birth, to rise to high dignity in the Church. He was elected to the States-General by the Clergy, and his eloquence and wit made him popular in the Assembly, although as an orator he cannot be compared with Mirabeau or Barnave.

The great party of the Left, although not much stronger numerically, contained a larger number of influential men. Among them may be noted a group of liberal *grands seigneurs*, such as La Rochefoucauld and Liancourt. Here also sat the Abbé Grégoire, the leader of the curés. All of these leaders were agreed on a policy of overthrowing the present system of government, and establishing one on more liberal lines; and they owed their influence to their power of carrying the votes of the Centre.

The extreme Left consisted of a small body of men who were in favor of establishing a real democratic form of government. Here were to be found nearly all the leaders whose names became famous during the Revolution: among them Maxmilien Robespierre, deputy for Artois, Merlin of Douai, Prieur of the Marne and Reubell.

With the Left sat a small group of young nobles who were led by the "triumvirate": Duport, Barnave, and Charles de Lameth. To them adhered all the young nobles who had served in America, notably Alexandre de Beauharnais, the husband of Joséphine; Alexandre de Lameth, a brother of Charles; Vicomte de Noailles, a cousin of La Fayette; and the young Prince de Broglie.

Of the triumvirate which directed the policy of the Left during the first eighteen months that the Assembly was at Paris, it was said that Duport was the brain, Barnave the tongue, and Lameth the hand.

Adrien Duport was perhaps the ablest party leader who appeared during the Revolution. He had a real knowledge of men, and social qualities which enabled him to make and keep friends. He was born in Paris, of

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a legal family, and was only thirty years of age when, through the influence of the Duc d'Orléans, he was elected to the States-General by the Noblesse of Paris. He was the first to suggest to Orléans the idea of becoming a constitutional king, and he expected to be prime minister under the new régime; but he soon found that his patron was not to be depended upon, and he used his little party for his own advancement. He acted entirely from selfish motives and gained no permanent political success. Danton saved his life by releasing him from arrest just before the September Massacres, and he emigrated. He returned after the fall of Robespierre, but was once more sent into exile by the coup d'état of Fructidor and died in Switzerland the following year.

Barnave was two years younger even than Duport. He was the son of a wealthy avocat of Grenoble, where he was born in 1761. He became a member of the bar in 1782, and was elected to the States-General from Dauphiné as a disciple of Mounier. At Versailles he soon abandoned his former leader and formed a close friendship with Duport. He was at first very strong in his opposition to the Court, but conceived a violent admiration for Marie-Antoinette during the return from Varennes, and this led to his death on the scaffold in November 1793.

Comte Charles de Lameth was the third son of the Marquis, and a nephew of Maréchal de Broglie, through whose influence he and his brothers were rapidly advanced in the army. He served with Rochambeau in America, and was wounded at Yorktown. On his return he was made colonel of the Cuirassiers du Roi, and married a rich heiress. He was elected to the States-General by the Noblesse of Artois. At Versailles he fell under the influence of Duport, and violently attacked the Court, in spite of the many favors he had received from the King and Queen.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that all, or nearly all, of the members of the Assembly belonged to one of

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the parties outlined above. Probably a majority of the deputies were not affiliated with any of these groups, and constituted what may be called the Centre. These men had no fixed views, and voted according to their convictions on the different questions as they came up. It was the decisive vote of this group which every orator sought to gain. Although it had no leaders, the Centre contained many able men. Among them may be mentioned Barère, who was so bitterly attacked by Macaulay in one of his brilliant essays.

At Paris, the Right and Left became more fully organized under their chiefs, and the Centre continued to hold the balance of power. To avoid frequently contested elections it was agreed that the president of the Assembly should be chosen alternately from the deputies of the Right and Left.

At this time a little cripple in clerical dress began to attract attention. He sat on the Left, although by birth and profession he belonged on the other side. This was Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun.

Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord was born at Paris on the 13 February 1754, of one of the oldest families in France. He was the eldest son of the Prince de Talleyrand-Périgord, but on account of an accident in his infancy, which made him lame for life, his father decided to make him a priest, and to give the titles and wealth of the family to a younger son. He took orders when very young, and the wit of the "little Abbé" made him very popular at the Court of Versailles. When Marbœuf was transferred to the diocese of Lyon, the Abbé de Périgord, as he was then known, was nominated for Bishop of Autun; but the King, offended by his reputation for gallantry, refused to confirm the appointment. However, the King finally yielded to the dying request of the father of the Abbé, and in 1788 he was consecrated. He did not have much time to show his qualities as a bishop, but he made himself very popular with all classes in Autun, and was almost unanimously elected to

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the States-General. At Versailles he became intimate with Mirabeau, and was made a member of the committee on the new constitution, where he sided with Sieyès in opposition to Mounier.

With the view of putting a stop to the state of anarchy in the army, the Assembly decided on the 30 September 1789 to elect a military committee of twelve, which should draw up, with the Minister of War, the Marquis de La Tour du Pin, a new military constitution. On the 19 November the new committee reported in favor of continuing the system of voluntary enlistment for the army, and on the 12 December the Minister of War accepted the report.

It was then that Dubois de Crancé rose, and protested against this measure in a vigorous speech, in which he advocated the principle of conscription as the only possible means of securing a truly national army.

Dubois de Crancé, the man who first conceived this idea, which has changed the face of Europe, came of a good bourgeois family in Champagne, and was born at Charleville, on the 17 October 1747. Through the influence of an uncle, before completing his fifteenth year he entered the Gray Mousquetaires, one of the noble corps in the Maison du Roi, and remained in this troop until its suppression by Saint-Germain in 1775. Among his companions were Alexandre de Beauharnais, and Grave, the future Minister of War. In 1764 he inherited a fine estate from his father, with an income of 80,000 livres, and in 1772 he married an heiress. Three years later, on the suppression of the Mousquetaires, he retired to his estate and led the life of a country gentleman. In 1789 he was chosen a deputy to the States-General by the Third Estate of Vitry-le-Français. He was elected a member of the financial and military committees, and also secretary of the Assembly. But in his proposition regarding conscription he was before his time, and it was not until the days of the Convention, when France had become a republic, that he could carry out his ideas.

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In order to understand the course of affairs during the closing months of this eventful year, it is necessary to speak of Mirabeau's attitude towards the Court. As early as the end of May, he had sought an interview with Necker, but nothing came of the conference except mutual dislike. He owed his first opportunity of being useful to the Court to the Comte de La Marck, a member of the old Flemish family of Aremberg. La Marck was a warm friend of Marie-Antoinette, but, unlike Esterhazy and Fersen, had never been accused of any liaison with her. He had met Mirabeau the previous year, and their acquaintance had ripened into friendship. When he became more intimate with the statesman he urged the Queen to make an effort to attract Mirabeau to the side of the Court, and was finally authorized to request Mirabeau to draw up a memorandum for the guidance of the King. This was in October, just after the Assembly decided to move to Paris. In two days the paper was prepared and presented.

In this remarkable state paper, which must ever remain a monument to the genius of Mirabeau, he urged the King to ratify all that had yet been done by the Assembly, as an integral part of the new Constitution; but the initiative for the future must come from the King and not from the deputies. He then proceeds to show that the only way to accomplish this is by the formation of a responsible ministry, on the English pattern, from the leading members of the Assembly.

Furthermore, since the King was really a prisoner of the Paris mob, which also overawed the Assembly, the seat of government should be transferred to some provincial capital, like Rouen, and the Assembly summoned there.

In another note to the King, a few days later, Mirabeau suggested the names of the first ministry. In spite of his rebuffs by Necker and La Fayette, he proposed that the former should be Prime Minister, and that the latter should be made Marshal of France and generalissimo. For the other ministers he named Liancourt (War), La

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Rochefoucauld (Interior), La Marck (Navy), Ségur (Foreign Affairs), and Talleyrand (Finance). Mirabeau himself was to be minister without a portfolio, and to assume the management of the Assembly.

Later he proposed a second slate, which proved equally impracticable. Poor Louis could no more comprehend such ideas than, in the words of his brother, Provence, oiled billiard balls could be held together! Marie-Antoinette, for her part, detested Mirabeau, and would have no compromise with the Assembly.

Nevertheless, Mirabeau might have carried his point, but for the short-sighted jealousy of other deputies. On the seventh of November a motion was made and carried that it be declared illegal for any member to take office under the Crown while he held his seat in the Assembly, or for six months after his resignation. With this decree vanished all hope of securing for the present a new and strong government for France. A few days later La Marck left Paris to join his regiment, and the communication with the Court was temporarily cut off.

CHAPTER NINE

1790-1791

THE CRISIS OF THE REVOLUTION

The Constitution Enacted — The New Departments — The Favras Affair — The King Visits the Assembly — The Court at Saint-Cloud — Cazotte's Prophecy — Apathy of the Noblesse — The Church Property — The *Assignats* — Fête of the Federation — Split in the Revolutionary Party — Mirabeau and La Fayette — Mercy and La Marck — Mirabeau Retained by the Court — Change in His Mode of Life — His Interview with the Queen — His Plan of Action — Rejected by the Court — Schemes for Foreign Intervention — Recall of Orléans — Death of Mirabeau — His Character and Career.

AMIDST all these intrigues the work on the Constitution pursued its course. The debates practically came to an end in February 1790, but the Constitution was reconsidered and recast during the following eighteen months, and did not finally receive the King's approval and become a law until September 1791.

The suspensory veto and the new title of the sovereign have already been considered. Although the King was still nominally the head of the State, all matters of administration, of justice, and of the control of the army, were taken out of his hands. While he retained a semblance of power, in reality he was impotent. He was not granted even a small part of the authority vested in the present chief of the French Republic. He could not dissolve the Assembly, and the right of appeal to the nation was denied him. The decree of November 1789, excluding members of the Assembly from the ministry, made any real parliamentary government impossible.

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The whole power of the administration was vested in a single chamber, the Legislative Assembly.

It was decided that the old system of provinces must be abolished. By the decree of the 15 February 1790, eighty-three departments were definitely organized, and by a later decree were baptized with names taken from rivers and mountains, so chosen as not to perpetuate any local or historical recollections. The system was naturally strongly opposed by the Right, but met with the approval of the Left, who hoped that it would extinguish all old remembrances, and make all citizens feel that they were Frenchmen, and not Bretons or Gascons, Picards or Provençals. The result was the centralization of all power in the capital, to the detriment of the provinces.

During this same month the affair of the unfortunate Favras caused a great stir at Paris. This individual had conceived the idea of carrying off the King and effecting a counter-revolution. Provence, the King's brother, was implicated in the plot, but denied the fact; Favras was made the scapegoat, and gave up his life as a sacrifice to public tranquillity. He was acquitted by the criminal court, but was seized by the mob and hung in the Place de Grève.

During the first week of February the King went to the Manège and made a short address, which was received with great applause. He expressed his perfect accord with the Assembly, and his approval of the measures already voted. The deputies broke into "transports of affection and emotion" and passionately thanked "the best of Kings."

The palace of the Tuileries was a very hot and uncomfortable summer residence, so when the warm weather came on the royal family went to Saint-Cloud. No objections were made to the removal, and the Court was escorted by a detachment of the National Guard. New plans of escape were considered, and at this time nothing would have been easier. When the King and Queen went out they were accompanied only by a single

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aide de camp of La Fayette, and they were often absent from the Château four or five hours at a time.

In the following spring of 1791, however, when the sovereigns wished to go again to Saint-Cloud, the guard at the Tuileries refused to let them depart, after all preparations had been made, and the whole household was gone. The King and his family, who were already in their carriages, were obliged to alight and return to their apartments. This event was probably due to well-founded rumors of an intention to escape.

During the early days of the Revolution there were current in France, and even abroad, a number of prophecies, which announced events so extraordinary, and seemingly so impossible, that few could put any faith in them. The most remarkable of these was pronounced by Monsieur Cazotte.

In a fashionable salon, where many great ladies were assembled, the Duchesse de Gramont made the remark that it was a fortunate thing for women that their sex was always respected in time of revolution.

"Your sex, ladies," replied Cazotte, "will not save you this time. You will all be treated like the men, without any difference whatsoever. You, Madame la Duchesse, will be conducted to the scaffold, you and many other ladies like you, in a cart, with your hands tied behind your back."

"In that case, I hope that I shall at least have a carriage draped in black."

"No, Madame; even greater ladies than you will go like you in a cart with their hands tied like yours."

"What? Greater ladies — the royal princesses?"

"Even greater ladies still."

Madame de Gramont, who began to think that this pleasantry was being carried a little too far, then remarked in a light tone:

"You see that he will not even allow me a confessor."

"No, Madame; you will not have one, neither you

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nor any one else. The last victim who will have this privilege, will be . . . ”

Cazotte paused for a moment.

“ Well, who is then the happy mortal who will have this prerogative? ”

“ It is the only one that he will retain, and he will be . . . the King of France! ”

This wonderful posthumous piece of fiction, which La Harpe wrote under the guise of fact, when composing his *Mémoires* at the end of the Directory, is quoted by Taine at the conclusion of his study of the “ *Ancien Régime* ”; but from a purely dramatic point of view, there could be no better introduction to a story of the French Revolution. Without doubt, La Harpe was a prophet after the fact, but in the Gramont family, as well as in that of Cazotte, the existence of the prediction is regarded as an authentic tradition.

It is a curious fact in connection with the course of the Revolution that the Court did nothing to stem the tide of events. The nobles showed the most complete apathy. Ruined by the abolition of feudal rights, reviled and threatened both at Paris and in the provinces, they went their way with a smile, and seemed to feel the situation not at all. The calm fatalism with which they accepted the acts of the Assembly is amazing. Nothing seemed to move the threatened caste. The winter was particularly gay. “ On the 31 December,” says Madelin, “ they bade the old year a joyous farewell; as midnight struck, the gentlemen gaily kissed the ladies of the company. And not a head there but was shaking on its owner’s shoulders! ” The noblesse made fun of the Revolution. They joked over La Fayette and his National Guard. They laughed at a shoemaker who said, “ My son will some day be a Marshal of France! ” That sons of masons and coopers and inn-keepers were one day, in the not far-distant future, to bear this proud title, was beyond the comprehension of aristocratic society. But this was one of the forces destined to ensure the triumph of the Revolution.

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The wealth of the Church was enormous, and for more than a century needy controllers had looked upon it with longing eyes, as a means of filling the empty coffers of the State. By agreement with the Clergy, the tithe had been suppressed. If the Church had been willing to come forward voluntarily and make a little further sacrifice it might have averted the storm. An advance of four hundred millions as a temporary loan would have saved everything. But the Clergy could not realize the depth of the feeling against the privileged classes, and knew nothing of defence or policy. A member of their own body was to strike the deadly blow.

On the 10 October, Talleyrand, the Bishop of Autun, limped into the tribune. He moved that the property of the Church be placed at the disposal of the State. The following day Mirabeau spoke in favor of the motion. The debate which followed was very heated. The Clergy made a strong defence. The measure was fiercely opposed by Maury and Sieyès, but was favored by the Abbé Grégoire and some twenty parish priests. Through the influence of Mirabeau the motion was finally carried by the close vote of 368 to 346, over three hundred deputies being absent or not voting.

This transaction, which was a sorry piece of business, put about three billions into the treasury. The important question to be settled now was how to realize on the Church property. Necker was embarrassed, and to gain time took to his bed. The City of Paris was the first to come to the rescue: Bailly offered to buy twenty-seven religious houses for two hundred millions. His proposal was accepted, and the arrangement was extended to other Communes. It was decided to finance the operation by issuing money secured by the Church property. These paper bills were the famous *assignats*. It was a forced currency, and Maury claimed that the assignats would in the end bankrupt the nation, while Pétion strongly declared that they would "ensure the Revolution." Both of these prophets were correct: the assignats did almost ruin France, but they also made every man who held

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them a defender of the Revolution, and so ensured its success.

But, while condemning this measure, it is impossible, also, to deny the extreme and pressing necessity under which the decree was adopted. The financial condition of the State was nearly desperate. The repeal of most of the old taxes, which had been so unpopular, and the reduction of the duties on many articles largely used by the poor, had cut off the main sources of revenue to the Crown, while at the same time the expenditure was rapidly increasing. Desperate attempts had been made to borrow, but the credit of the nation was gone. Two separate loans, decreed in August, one of thirty and the other of eighty millions, had proved absolute failures. It was therefore as the only possible alternative to bankruptcy that the Assembly appropriated the Church property and the Crown domains, compensating the Clergy by salaries, and the King by a very liberal civil list.

In October 1789, fifteen Breton Communes formed themselves into a federation; a month later fourteen towns in Dauphiné at the other end of the kingdom made a similar union; and during the course of the winter the movement spread all over France. The King had been the bond that held the nation together; as his influence waned, and anarchy cast a gloom over the country, the people began blindly to bind themselves together. Then the provinces in turn began to "federate." The Assembly, alarmed by this movement, decided to direct its course. Delegates of the National Guards of France were invited to assemble at Paris on the 14 July to celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. This was the celebrated "Fête of the Federation."

At Paris it was necessary to make extensive preparations: the Champ-de-Mars was to be levelled, and stands erected for the spectators. When the people saw that the workmen sent by the City were not numerous enough, every one took a hand. In ten days all was finished.

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Many are the descriptions of the festival, but words can give little idea of the brilliancy of the spectacle, in which the King and royal family took part. The Mass was said by Talleyrand, the Bishop of Autun, assisted by four hundred priests, girt with tricolored sashes. When La Fayette advanced to the altar, laid his sword upon it, and took the oath of fidelity to the Nation, the Laws, and the King, the excitement rose to madness. Then the President of the Assembly, followed by all the deputies, took the oath, but they had a cold reception. The King did not go up to the altar, but was loudly cheered as he stood in front of his armchair and swore to maintain the Constitution. Finally the ecstasy reached the point of frenzy when the Queen held up the Dauphin and declared that they both shared these sentiments. In the evening there were great illuminations, and the people danced on the site of the demolished fortress.

Notwithstanding the visit of the King to the Assembly in February, the accord between them was only apparent. There were already signs of a split in the revolutionary party, and the King's advisers counselled him to take advantage of the occasion to effect a counter-revolution. Some of the leaders of the Left, who had hitherto directed the course of events, desired to stop short, or even retrace their steps, while others wished to go on. Among the extreme faction a definitely republican group was beginning to take shape, and many of the members were alarmed at this new development. The Court thought that the moment had come to seek support among the patriotic deputies. Steps were taken to get in touch with La Fayette; also with Mirabeau, who was offended by the decree debarring him from the ministry, and had already offered his support to the Comte de Provence.

At this time, if they could have acted in harmony, these two men might have controlled the future course of events. Mirabeau, who was already ill, was much disturbed over the way things were going. One day he

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raged against the reactionary tendency of the Assembly, the next, against the apathy of the King, who paid him but did not make use of his services. There is no doubt that he sincerely desired the restoration of the King's authority, and at the same time the maintenance of the benefits gained by the Revolution.

La Fayette also was in favor of a moderate policy, but it was impossible for the two men to act in harmony. Mirabeau despised La Fayette for his imbecility; La Fayette detested Mirabeau on account of his profligacy, and the Court had no confidence in either of them. The King disliked Mirabeau because he had forced through the measure regarding the Church property, and the Queen felt a profound aversion to him because she thought he was responsible for the events of the fifth and sixth of October.

Marie-Antoinette also distrusted La Fayette. In his early youth he had frequented the Court, where his long ungainly body, his red hair, and his awkwardness, had provoked her ridicule. Even after his return from America, when he was fêted at Versailles as "the hero of two worlds," her antipathy persisted. She could not stand his political views, and his pretensions as a great statesman. She felt that his self-sufficiency covered an incorrigible *niaiserie*, which was the cause of all his mistakes and all his weakness, and in this her judgment was well-founded.

The rôle of La Fayette during the October days changed the aversion of the Queen into a strong resentment. She thought he was capable of any act — even the overthrow of the Monarchy, to gain supreme power for himself.

Nevertheless it is certain that La Fayette did not then dream of a republic for France, whatever may have been the ideas he had brought back from America. He desired the abolition of abuses and the establishment of a wise liberty, but he had no idea of overturning the Throne. The unbounded hatred which the Queen felt for him, and which she showed on every occasion, caused La

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Fayette as much chagrin as his shallow nature was capable of feeling.

Under these circumstances it is easy to imagine how Marie-Antoinette received the overtures of La Fayette to work for the restoration of the royal authority which he had done so much to overthrow. When he asked the Queen one day, if she did not think the Duc d'Orléans aspired to the throne, she replied, pointedly: "Is it necessary, Monsieur, to be a prince in order to have designs on the Crown?"

The attitude of Mirabeau, however, was very different, and his support was even more important. When the idea of calling him in was first suggested to the Queen, she at once rejected it. Later Mercy took up the plan again, in March 1790, with the approval of Fersen. The latter had remained at Paris after the events of October, and was constantly at the Tuileries, where he enjoyed the full confidence both of the King and the Queen. Moderate by temperament and wise by reflection, Fersen urged Marie-Antoinette not to repulse the succor which was offered her, and not to make an irreconcilable enemy of an adversary who was ready to lay down his arms.

In March 1790, therefore, Mercy summoned La Marck to return from Brussels, where he had gone to reside, and informed him of the desire of the King and Queen to enter again into relations with Mirabeau.

Comte de Mercy-Argenteau, who was born at Liège in 1722, had inherited the great estates of his family in Hungary and Lorraine, and was a naturalized citizen of France. In 1766 he was appointed Austrian ambassador at Paris, and with Choiseul arranged the marriage of Marie-Antoinette with the Dauphin. He enjoyed the entire confidence of Maria Theresa, who requested him to direct her daughter's conduct, and ordered her to obey him in every respect. Although Marie-Antoinette did not always follow his advice, in every emergency she turned to him. On the present occasion he strongly urged the Queen to open communications with Mira-

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beau, and that La Marck should be asked to act as intermediary.

Comte de La Marck came of an old Flemish family, and through his mother was a direct descendant of the "Wild Boar of the Ardennes." He was the second son of Prince d'Aremberg, and was adopted by his maternal grandfather, the last Comte de La Marck. He came to Paris in 1770, and was soon a favorite at the Court of Versailles. He married an heiress, with large estates in French Flanders, and was elected to the States-General by the Noblesse of Quesnoy. In the Assembly he became an intimate friend of Mirabeau. As already stated, it was through him that Mirabeau was asked to draw up the memorandum which was presented to the Court in October 1789. After the fatal decree of November had been passed La Marck left for Brussels where he remained until he received Mercy's letter recalling him to Paris.

La Marck arrived at Paris on the 16 March, and at once had a long interview with Mercy, but refused to interfere in the matter until the ambassador agreed himself to meet Mirabeau. After a number of conferences between Mercy, La Marck and Mirabeau, the latter was asked to state definitely the services which he would undertake to render.

One other obstacle still remained to be overcome: the Queen's firm conviction that Mirabeau was involved in the attack of the mob on Versailles. She sent for La Marck and asked him the question point-blank. He denied most positively that Mirabeau had anything to do with the affair, and proved his assertions. The Queen was much relieved.

La Marck went even further. He guaranteed absolutely the good faith of the tribune, and stated that it was Mirabeau's determination, not to go back, but to take no steps ahead. The Queen on her side gave the assurance that neither she nor the King thought of the reëstablishment of absolute power, and were prepared to accept the new conditions. Mirabeau confirmed La

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Marck's engagements by a note in his own hand, in which he promised the King, loyalty, zeal, activity, energy and courage.

On the 10 May Mirabeau handed La Marck a memorandum for the King. No counter-revolution, he said; it would be "dangerous and criminal," but ample executive power, "absolutely and exclusively in the hands of the King." He undertook gradually to prepare the public mind for this policy by correspondence with the different departments. In order to be useful to the Court, he must remain popular, and, to this end, must continue to attack the feudal privileges of the Old Régime. Both the King and the Queen were pleased with his letter.

The conditions stipulated by La Marck were: (1) the payment of Mirabeau's debts, about 200,000 livres; (2) an allowance of 6000 livres a month; and (3), if he carried out his undertaking satisfactorily, a million livres, in four bills of 250,000 each, to be deposited with La Marck. In receiving the money of the Court, Mirabeau only proposed to carry out what he considered to be the best policy, and he excused his conduct by saying: "On peut m'acheter, mais je ne me vends pas."

From this time, there was a great change in the life of Mirabeau. He gave up his modest furnished lodging, and installed himself like a prince in the Chaussée-d'Antin, where he kept open house. In vain did La Marck beg him to live in his old style, and merely to move to a more comfortable apartment. He had always been poor, and now that he had money he could not resist the temptation to spend it freely. His connection with the Court was suspected, and the change in his manner of life was enough alone to give grounds for suspicion. He was playing a double game, and his course was a marvel of balancing. He threw himself into his new task with enthusiasm, and hardly took time to sleep.

The Jacobins began to distrust him, and this powerful club escaped from his influence, and fell under the guidance of the triumvirate, Duport, Barnave and Lameth.

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In this dilemma he could only turn to La Fayette for support. But La Fayette, who had always been jealous of Mirabeau, refused the alliance, and Mirabeau asked the King to try and overcome his objections. Accordingly, on the first of June, Louis wrote to the general a letter which Mirabeau had dictated; but La Fayette still held off, and no agreement could be reached.

Mirabeau was much pleased with this famous arrangement, which, in return for his services, assured him relief from his debts and a sufficient income, and he soon professed for Marie-Antoinette a sort of enthusiastic devotion. "Le Roi," he wrote, "n'a qu'un homme, c'est sa femme." But the Queen, on account of this transaction, retained for the great tribune a feeling of instinctive contempt, which made any real confidence impossible. It is not necessary to look further for the reasons which led to the failure of all of Mirabeau's efforts to save the Crown.

The admiration of Mirabeau for the Queen is a sufficient explanation of his desire to meet her. He did not know Marie-Antoinette, and letters did not satisfy him: he must have a personal interview, and talk with her tête-à-tête. It was not easy to obtain the consent of the Queen, but she finally agreed to see Mirabeau, and a rendez-vous was arranged for Saturday the third of July at eight-thirty in the morning in a little pavilion, a kind of grotto, in the park of Saint-Cloud. The previous evening, Mirabeau went to Auteuil, where he passed the night at the house of his niece, Madame d'Aragon. The next morning at an early hour he set out in a cabriolet conducted by his nephew, the young Comte de Saillant, who was disguised as a courier. He alighted at a little gate of the park, knocked, was admitted, and found himself in the presence of Marie-Antoinette.

The Queen, on finding herself face to face with the man who had done her so much harm, and whose personal appearance was so repulsive, felt an interior shock, a sensation of dismay. But she overcame her feelings and opened the conversation with her usual grace. Mirabeau

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also was moved, and, to a certain extent, intimidated. In the bad company which he had affected since the days of his youth he had to a great degree lost the spirit and breeding of a man of the world. In spite of all this the conversation was animated, and they understood each other perfectly. The seductive voice and the eloquent words of the tribune won Marie-Antoinette, and she in turn conquered Mirabeau by her noble simplicity and proud dignity. When he took leave of the Queen after an interview of three-quarters of an hour, he asked permission to kiss her hand, and as he bore it to his lips he murmured, "Madame, the Monarchy is saved." When he rejoined his nephew he said: "She is very great, very noble and very unfortunate, but I will save her."

This interview confirmed Mirabeau in his idea that the Queen alone had the will and the courage necessary to second his views. But if Marie-Antoinette had these qualities, even to excess, she was lacking in stability and perseverance, and, above all, in faith in her chosen ally. The favorable impression of the meeting at Saint-Cloud was soon effaced. A little later, Mirabeau wrote La Marck sadly that he was of little use; that the Court showed no intention of following his advice.

The plan of action which Mirabeau outlined in his numerous secret notes to the King and Queen may be briefly summarized as follows: To show themselves frequently to the people; to employ all means to regain their lost popularity; to assemble quietly a few loyal regiments under a proved chief; then, some fine day, under the protection of these troops, to transport the Court to some neighboring city, like Compiègne or Fontainebleau, whence negotiations could be opened with the National Assembly for the reëstablishment of the royal authority. No foreign intervention, which would only make matters worse, but civil war if unavoidable. "It is necessary to take a stand," he wrote in August. "In two words, civil war is certain, and perhaps necessary."

In order to explain himself more clearly, Mirabeau asked for another interview with the Queen. But the form

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and substance of his last note had alarmed Marie-Antoinette. Both she and Louis recoiled from the idea of a civil war. She wrote Mercy, in transmitting the letter, that she thought Mirabeau was crazy to suggest such a thing. As for seeing him again, it was out of the question: he must not count on it.

This refusal plunged Mirabeau in the most bitter discouragement, but he kept up the hopeless struggle. From month to month he continued to write notes, to argue, and to urge. Nothing could overcome the apathy of the Court. The King, in accord with his ministers, was looking for outside support. An envoy by the name of Bonne was sent to Turin to get in touch with Comte d'Artois, and arrange for the invasion of France by an army of Sardinians and émigrés. But Bonne was arrested at the frontier and imprisoned in the Abbaye at Paris. The Court, in order to create a diversion, took up again before the Châtelet the criminal investigation of the events of the fifth and sixth of October, which it always held in reserve, with the idea of compromising Mirabeau and La Fayette. Mirabeau, in retaliation, proposed the recall of the Duc d'Orléans, which the Court dreaded above all eventualities. The Duc had been sent to London the previous autumn on the flimsy pretence of a diplomatic mission, but in reality in order to get him out of the country. Upon the invitation of the Assembly, he now returned to Paris, where he soon recovered a part of his former popularity, and became an aspirant for the Throne.

However, none of the plans of the counter-revolutionists, either at Paris or abroad, had any chance of success. The Court and the Émigrés acted at cross-purposes, and no one had a clear and positive plan to oppose to that of Mirabeau — the only one which could still have saved the Monarchy.

At this moment, when affairs were in the most critical condition, the Court lost its talented counsellor: the second day of April 1791, Mirabeau passed away at the age of forty-two, a victim to his ceaseless activity, his perpetual expense of physical and moral energy.

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Born of an ancient and noble family, after a youth of excess he had in 1789 resolutely allied himself with the Third Estate, and on the 23 June had voiced the resistance to the royal authority. His ambition was to direct the course of the Revolution, but he was barred from the ministry by the jealousy and distrust of the Assembly, and was reduced to the rôle of secret adviser of the King and Queen, who retained him, but failed to profit by his wise counsels. Although he accepted the pay of the Court, he only advocated the policies in which he believed. He was a passionate advocate of liberty, and a resolute opponent of any plan of foreign interference. A thorough patriot, he was the apostle of Liberty and Equality, and a firm believer in the grandeur of France. His tribute to the tricolor is the most eloquent ever pronounced. Kept aloof from power by a kind of ostracism, deprived of the means of directly serving his country, Mirabeau had in his favor only the immense power of public opinion. "The greatest orator," says a recent writer, "the most perspicacious genius of the Revolution, under the régime of the bourgeois monarchy which he had contributed to found, could not play the rôle of supreme chief, to which his talents and his popularity called him. His career was perhaps the most brilliant failure in history." (*La plus belle carrière manquée de l'histoire.*) With him died the cause of the Bourbon Monarchy, and, more important still, the only hope of a peaceful solution of the dangers which were threatening France.

CHAPTER TEN

1791

THE FLIGHT TO VARENNES

The Queen Prepares to Escape — The Plan Doomed to Failure — Montmédy the Objective — The Royal Party — The Travelling Carriage — Bouillé's Task — Apathy of the Authorities — Provence Leaves Paris — La Fayette's Call — Departure of the Royal Family — Delays en Route — Pont-de-Somme-Vesle — Châlons — Sainte-Menehould — Clermont — Drouet's Ride — Varennes — Arrival of Drouet — The King Arrested — Choiseul Arrives — The King Leaves for Paris — Bouillé Comes too Late — The Return Trip — Cold Reception at Paris

THE news of the death of Mirabeau was received by the Queen and the Court with joy. Although his death had destroyed the last chance of saving the Throne, no one except the King seems to have understood how great a task Mirabeau had undertaken, and how ably he had carried it on. "Do not rejoice over the death of Mirabeau," Louis said to Marie-Antoinette, "we have suffered a greater loss than you imagine."

For more than six months the Queen had been secretly making plans for flight. As early as October 1790 she had consulted Bouillé as to the possibility of the King's going to Metz. Her intentions were confirmed by the refusal of the National Guard to allow the royal family to go to Saint-Cloud in April 1791. But according to Madame Campan the Queen had begun to prepare for her departure as early as the month of March, when she gave a number of orders in anticipation of the intended event. In vain Madame Campan pointed out that the Queen of France would find linen and gowns everywhere; she was determined to have a complete outfit, both for



GILBERT-MOTTIER DE LA FAYETTE

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her children and herself, awaiting her arrival at Brussels. A large trunk was filled with these purchases, and forwarded to one of the Queen's women at Arras, with orders to be ready to start for Brussels on a moment's notice. This lady, who was the widow of the mayor of Arras, could depart at any time without attracting attention.

Marie-Antoinette was also determined to take with her a large travelling dressing-case, but was finally persuaded to order a duplicate made, at an expense of five hundred louis, and forwarded to Brussels, ostensibly as a present to her sister, the Archduchess Marie-Christine, the governess of the Low Countries.

She also arranged to send her diamonds by the hands of Léonard, her hairdresser, who was to depart on the same day as the royal family. These jewels were her own personal property, as the Crown diamonds had already been delivered up to the commissioners of the Assembly. These details are of importance, since the early preparations for the journey were betrayed to the Mayor of Paris by one of the women of the Queen's wardrobe, and this had much to do with the failure of the plan.

The Queen pretended to think that in deciding to leave Paris she was following the advice of Mirabeau and doing a very statesman-like thing, but the best proof to the contrary is to be found in the fact that the flight was kept a secret from La Marck, who was distrusted because of his past intimacy with Mirabeau. The flight could hardly have been successful in any case, says Mr. H. Morse Stephens, even without the curious train of events which brought about its failure, because of the general distrust of the King, and even more of the Queen, and the disloyalty of the Army. If the royal family had succeeded in crossing the frontier, the events of 1814 and 1815, when foreign armies imposed a Bourbon king upon France, might have been anticipated by nearly a quarter of a century.

The persons chiefly instrumental in arranging the plans

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for escape were Comte de Fersen and the Marquis de Bouillé.

Bouillé had won great fame in the West Indies during the American War of Independence, and was one of the most distinguished generals in the service of France. He was born in Auvergne in 1739, and had been promoted to be a colonel in the Seven Years' War. In 1768 he was made governor of the island of Guadeloupe, and in 1777 governor-general of the Windward Islands, with headquarters at Martinique. During the American war he took a number of islands from the English, and was rewarded for his services by the rank of lieutenant-general and the Order of the Holy Ghost. On his return to France he was appointed governor of Metz, one of the most important commands in France, from its proximity to the eastern frontier.

As there were numerous important questions to settle, Bouillé sent his eldest son, Comte Louis, to Paris to inform the King as to his plans. Three cities were suggested as a place of refuge, but for various reasons Montmédy, a few miles from the northern frontier, was chosen. To this place there were two principal routes: the shortest and most direct by Reims, the other by Châlons and Clermont. The two routes met at Sedan, a short distance to the northwest of Montmédy. Bouillé favored the more direct route, but the King had been crowned at Reims, and was afraid that he might be recognized there. The Châlons route was therefore selected, and as the regular post-road led through Verdun, which was feared on account of its revolutionary tendencies, it was decided that the royal party should turn directly north at Clermont and take a by-road which ran down the valley of the Aire via Varennes to Sedan. Against the advice of Bouillé, who was in favor of two light, fast English travelling carriages, the King decided that the royal family should all make the journey in a single coach — he would be saved with all his family or not at all.

The King arranged to use a passport which had been obtained in the name of the Baronne de Korff, a Russian friend of Fersen's, who was described as travelling with

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her two children, their governess, a valet, a femme de chambre, and three domestics. Madame de Tourzel, the governess of the royal children, was to take the part of the Baronne, the Queen that of the governess, the King and his sister the rôles of the valet and the maid, and three body-guards were to be the domestics. These men had been chosen for their size and strength and endurance.

In December 1790 Madame de Korff had ordered to be built for her at Paris a large travelling coach, or berline, which could easily hold six people. Mr. Oscar Browning states that the general belief is quite erroneous, that this coach was a clumsy lumbering vehicle, conspicuous by its form and splendor. It was an ordinary, solid, well-built berline, painted green and black, with the perch and wheels the customary yellow. Outside, it looked like the usual travelling carriages, but inside it was very richly upholstered and handsomely equipped. It had cost six thousand livres, a very large sum for the time. To Fersen was entrusted the task of getting the coach ready for the flight, and he spent no small part of his fortune in the preparations. As already stated, the silence of Madame Campan as to the prominent part taken by Fersen in the proposed escape is very strange.

The task of Bouillé was much more difficult. The new Minister of War, Duportail, had cut down his command at Metz, and ordered away some of his most trusted troops. His plan was to concentrate at Montmédy some three thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry, part French and part foreign soldiers. The excuse for this concentration was a reported movement of Austrian troops towards the Flemish frontier. To finance these operations the King advanced Bouillé a million livres.

A far more difficult undertaking was to meet the King's desire that cavalry posts should be established at all the relay stations from Pont-de-Somme-Vesle to Varennes. In vain Bouillé argued that this would arouse the suspicions of the people, and perhaps imperil the success of the plan. The King insisted, and Bouillé could only submit. So he spread the report that a convoy of "treasure"

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was being shipped from Paris which needed a strong escort.

It was difficult to make all these preparations with secrecy, and far too many persons knew of the plans. It is certain that more than a score of people at Paris were more or less cognizant of what was going on, and many others must have formed shrewd suspicions. The palace was surrounded by spies and traitors, and many warnings had been given to Bailly and La Fayette that the King and Queen were preparing for flight. It has even been stated that the mayor and the commander of the National Guard were actually privy to the plans, but this accusation seems to be baseless. The authorities had been warned so many times of the impending flight of the royal family that it is not strange that they had ceased to give credit to these reports.

On the evening of Monday the 20 June, Bailly, who was confined to his house by illness, sent for La Fayette, told him of the latest rumors, and begged him to go to the Tuileries and make sure that all was well there.

That evening the King and Queen had received a visit from the Comte de Provence, who was also intending to leave the same night, and had called to say adieu. He was more successful than the King in making his escape, and lived to wear the crown. The two brothers never met again.

After the departure of Monsieur, Louis and Marie-Antoinette had supper together, and talked until they went to their apartments at eleven for the usual formalities of the *coucher*. At this hour La Fayette drove up and entered the palace. He saw the King and chatted with him for half an hour, and then left, satisfied that his fears were groundless. As soon as he was gone, the King arose and dressed himself again, in the disguise of a valet.

By secret passageways, the King, the Dauphin, Madame Royale, and Madame Élisabeth, the King's sister, proceeded to the apartment of the Duc de Villequier in the entresol, which had long been vacant, and issued by the

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door on the Cour des Princes, where there was no sentinel posted.

At the corner of the little Rue de l'Échelle and the Rue Saint-Honoré, where to-day stands the Hôtel de Normandie, Fersen, dressed as a coachman, was waiting at midnight to drive them in a cab to where the berline was stationed at the northern gate of the city. The party arrived promptly with the exception of the Queen, who had left the palace last, and had lost her way among the blind alleys of the Carrousel. She finally reached the rendez-vous a half hour late. All then entered the cab, which Fersen drove, by a long detour through the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, to the Porte Saint-Martin, where the berline awaited them. There the transfer was made. Fersen went with the party as far as Bondy; there he left them, and took the road for Mons, where he arrived in safety. He wanted to accompany the royal family, but the King refused — a great mistake, for he had with him no person with any intelligence or resources.

Relays were waiting at the next post, Claye, and in the broad daylight the berline lumbered on towards Meaux. The King and Queen enjoyed the fresh country air, of which they had long been deprived. They already felt themselves free. But three precious hours had already been lost, by the delay in starting, and by an accident to the new coach. The itinerary had been very carefully arranged, and the different posts which covered the route beyond Châlons expected the passage of the treasure at fixed hours.

The King should have arrived at two o'clock at Pont-de-Somme-Vesle, the first cavalry post, where would be found forty hussars under the orders of Colonel-Comte de Choiseul. The latter had reached there from Paris at eleven o'clock, in company with Léonard, the coiffeur of the Queen, who had charge of the jewels of his mistress. Captain Goguelat, of the staff of Bouillé, appeared at noon with his forty horsemen. Three o'clock, and four o'clock struck, and the King did not come. The peasants, who had had trouble with their seigneur, thought that

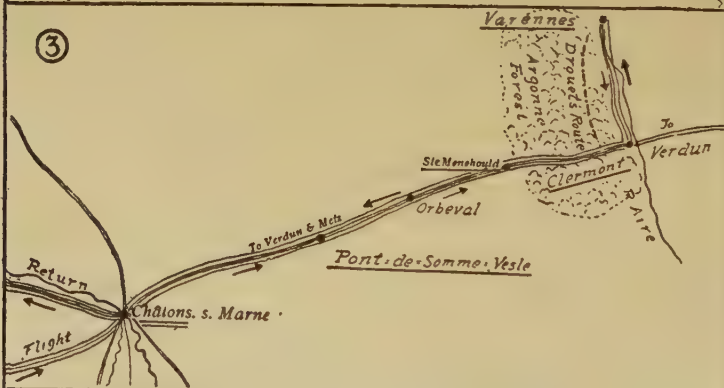
① *Sketch Map
of the
Flight to Varennes.*



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the troopers had been sent to overawe them, and began to murmur. Choiseul became alarmed, lost his head, and sent Léonard forward with a note to advise the other detachments that the treasure would not pass that day. At five o'clock, Choiseul retired with the hussars, not by the post-road to Sainte-Menehould, but by a difficult route towards the Argonne and Varennes.

At that hour the royal party was at Châlons, only a few miles away. Notwithstanding all the delays they had covered the distance of 110 miles from Paris at an average speed of over six miles an hour. Except for the imbecility of Choiseul, all might yet have gone well.

Châlons lies upon the border of an extensive plain, where according to tradition Attila's army was destroyed by the Romans. It is a barren and desolate space, known as the "Catalaunian Fields." Far off to the east runs the wooded wall of the Argonne, and at the edge of the forest lies the town of Sainte-Menehould, not far from the little village of Valmy, to be made famous just fifteen months later by the first great victory of the Republican arms.

An hour after the departure of Choiseul, the King finally arrived. He was surprised not to find the escort, but gave orders to change horses and go on. At eight o'clock he was at Sainte-Menehould, where he was to find thirty-three dragoons commanded by Captain d'Andouins. This officer approached the berline and informed the King that, on receipt of the note from Choiseul, he had ordered his men to unsaddle their horses, and that he was afraid to attract attention now by commanding the men to mount again.

It was still daylight when the berline stopped, to change horses at the relay station. The shades of the carriage were raised, and the village postmaster, Drouet, thought that he recognized the Queen, whom he had seen several times at Paris during his seven years of service with the Condé dragoons. He was also struck by the resemblance of the face of the valet to the head of the King engraved upon the fresh fifty-franc assignat which had just been

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handed him in payment for the new post-horses. As soon as the berline had left he spoke of his suspicions, and was directed by the municipal authorities to follow the party and give the alarm. He at once mounted a horse, and set out with Guillaume, also a former trooper.

The populace and the National Guards kept the dragoons from saddling, with the exception of one brave man, Lagache, who alone charged his opponents, and galloped in pursuit of the King. His later life was in keeping with this courageous act; he served through the wars of the Empire under the name of "General Henry," and was created in 1812 a baron for his military services.

About ten o'clock the King arrived at Clermont, and was once more disturbed at finding no preparations. Colonel Damas, after reading the note of Choiseul, had ordered his 140 men to dismount, and the dragoons had dispersed an hour before to look up quarters in the little village.

The travellers were in haste to go on, and stopped only ten minutes, just long enough to change horses. At Clermont also, the suspicions of the people had been aroused, and when Damas gave orders for his men to follow the carriage, their departure was opposed. After a few moments of hesitation, the dragoons refused to obey the order to mount, and Damas fled with several of his officers.

Meanwhile, Drouet and his companion were galloping along the post-road in pursuit of the berline. It was after ten o'clock when they neared Clermont. The moon was overcast, but on this the shortest night of the year it was not yet entirely dark. Drouet heard voices in the shadows before him: it was his own postilions on their way back from the end of the stage. He stopped to speak to them and learned that the travellers, when the relay horses were attached at Clermont, had cried "À Varennes!" This showed that they did not intend, as he had supposed, to take the road to Metz through Verdun, at which place he was hoping to stop them. Instead of following the post-road into the town, he at once took to the woods on

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his left, and galloped up the hill to the summit. Here he followed an old lane that runs along the crest of the ridge, while three hundred feet below, upon the open plain which borders the forest, the berline was thundering along the paved highway.

It was half past eleven when the berline arrived at Varennes, a little town of 1500 inhabitants situated in the beautiful valley of the Aire. On the left bank of the river, which divides the place into two almost equal parts, is the "ville haute," a collection of steep and narrow streets, two of which descend from the entrance of the town on the Clermont side to the one little bridge which spans the river, and leads to the "ville basse."

In 1791 Varennes was very much as it is to-day. In the upper town there are two open squares. The first is the Place du Château, where the old castle once stood. A little further on is the Place du Marché, where stands the Church of Saint-Gengoult. The bell-tower of the church on the side of the street of the Basse-Cour rested upon a low arch some fifty feet long, closed by two doors. This archway was the only passage for carriages.

At the other end of the little bridge the low town had in 1791 only one square, towards the end of the town, on the spot where the church now stands. At the corner of the square nearest the bridge stood the Hôtel du Grand-Monarque.

Varennes was not a post-town, so no relays were kept there, but it had been arranged that fresh horses should be ready for the King at the entrance of the town nearest to Clermont, where sixty hussars were also to be stationed. At the last moment the plan was changed, and the horses and the escort were sent to the inn in the lower town. This fatal blunder deprived the now almost hopeless enterprise of the last chance of success.

The King, who of course knew nothing of this change, was very much surprised on arriving at the entrance of the town not to find the relays. The postilions were ordered to go on, but refused, saying that they had been told at Clermont to go no further than the upper town.

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At this moment Drouet arrived. He saw the carriage of the King, galloped by in the dark, and descended the main street to the inn of the Bras-d'Or, near the church. Here he told the landlord, Leblanc, that the King had fled from Paris, that his carriage was in the upper town, and that it was necessary to stop him at all hazards. Drouet was at once conducted to Sauce, the procureur of the commune, who was a small grocer in the town. Sauce sent his children to arouse the citizens with an alarm of fire, and steps were taken to obstruct the bridge by overturning two large wagons.

The King finally persuaded the postilions to go on, and the carriage proceeded as far as the bridge, where it was stopped by the obstructions. Sauce then appeared, and demanded to see the passport, which was presented to him. He pretended that it was not in order, and requested the travellers to enter his house, where he could better examine the paper. After some hesitation the party decided that any objection was useless, and followed Sauce to his home. He lived near by in a small house, with the shop on the ground floor and two rooms above. The travellers passed through the store and mounted by a narrow dark staircase to the floor above. They were followed by Sauce, Drouet, Guillaume, Leblanc, and several municipal officers. A warm discussion followed. Drouet produced the assignat and compared the royal effigy with the visage of the pretended valet of the Baronne de Korff and claimed that he was the King. The authorities, who were peasants and small tradespeople, hesitated to take any action. Suddenly Sauce remembered that there was a certain Judge Destez in town, who had often seen the King at Paris. He was sent for, and on his arrival at once recognized the King.

It was impossible to dissimulate longer. The King admitted his identity, and presented them all to the Queen. He endeavored to win over Sauce and his wife, but without success.

At one o'clock, Choiseul and his men arrived from Pont-de-Somme-Vesle, worn-out with fatigue. They

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crossed the bridge and went directly to the camp of the sixty hussars, where they found in command only a sergeant-major, as the superior officers had all gone to Stenay to notify Bouillé. They then rushed to the King and begged him to allow them to escort him to Dun. But he refused to attempt this daring plan which might have saved him. Both Louis and Sauce were playing for time, the King hoping that Bouillé would come to his rescue, and the grocer awaiting the arrival of several thousand patriots who were flocking to Varennes from the surrounding country.

About seven o'clock Wednesday morning an aide de camp of La Fayette arrived from Paris bearing the decree of the National Assembly, which had suspended the King from his royal authority as soon as informed of his flight. The King still attempted to defer his departure, but all in vain. A few minutes later he was forced to set out.

Two hours later Bouillé reached Varennes at the head of the regiment of Royal-Allemand, 300 strong, but the King was already at Clermont on his return. Bouillé followed with his men, hoping to overtake the royal carriage, but he found the road barred by thousands of peasants and guardsmen, and gave up the attempt. He then returned to Stenay, where at six o'clock that evening he bade farewell to his troops, and departed for Belgium with a score of his officers. He passed the night at Orval, a large convent on the other side of the frontier. When he awoke the next morning he remembered that it was the Fête-Dieu, the day on which he was to have been invested by the King in the cathedral at Montmédy with the bâton of Maréchal de France. He finally retired to London, where he died in 1800, leaving a name forever associated with the failure of Varennes.

Escorted by three thousand men of the National Guard, under the leadership of the now famous postmaster Drouet, the King reached Sainte-Menehould at one-thirty. At eleven o'clock that night he was at Châlons, where the royal party for the first time was received with much respectful sympathy.

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The following morning, Thursday the 23 June, the day of the Fête-Dieu, the King attended Mass. He was forced to set out again at noon and arrived early that evening at Épernay, a very patriotic city. On leaving Châlons the party had abandoned the route taken during the flight, and followed the valley of the Marne. Between Épernay and Dormans, where they passed the night, the King was met by the three commissioners appointed by the Assembly to bring him back: Barnave, Pétion, and Latour-Maubourg. Barnave and Pétion entered the carriage, the former placing himself between the King and Queen on the rear seat, while the latter sat opposite, between Madame Élisabeth and Madame de Tourzel. Barnave was full of deference and respect for the unfortunate sovereigns, but Pétion was insolent in his familiarity.

Friday, the heat was terrific, and the guards refused to allow the shades of the berline to be lowered, as the crowd wished to see the King and the Queen. The night was passed at Meaux.

On Saturday morning the last stage of the journey began in a torrid heat. The carriage proceeded slowly in the midst of a constantly increasing crowd of curious spectators. On reaching Paris, instead of following the direct route, the cortège skirted the city walls, and entered by the Porte de la Conférence. The carriage then slowly ascended the Champs-Élysées, which were packed by an enormous crowd, and traversed the Tuileries Gardens to the palace. On every wall in the city was affixed a proclamation reading: "Whoever applauds the King shall be flogged; whoever insults him shall be hanged." This order was faithfully obeyed: there were no cheers; all the citizens remained covered; and the troops did not present arms. Amidst the silence of the people, under the rays of the setting sun, the royal carriage advanced at a walk, between the serried ranks of the National Guard. It was the funeral procession of the Monarchy!

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1791

THE QUEEN AND BARNAVE

The King Suspended — The Fiction of Abduction — The Queen Writes Fersen — Return of Mme. Campan — The Queen's Opinion of Barnave — Their Talks During the Return from Varennes — Their Correspondence at Paris — His Admiration for Marie-Antoinette — His Personality — The Queen's First Letter — Barnave Accepts the Rôle — The Queen's Duplicity — Fersen's Jealousy — Matters Discussed with Barnave — The Attitude of Austria — Émigrés — Their Activities — The Pillnitz Declaration — Evil Results of the Emigration — Acceptance of the Constitution — Popular Joy — End of the Constituent Assembly — Barnave's Farewell to the Queen — His Arrest and Execution

THE whole nation had been thrown into a state of consternation by the news of the royal flight. No one thought that the country could exist without a king. But almost immediately the people regained their courage. The Assembly assumed the executive power, and deposed the King from his functions. For the first time, the word "republic" was pronounced. Many persons held that the flight was an abdication, and for a moment it seemed as if a wave of republicanism was about to carry off the Bourbon throne. A proposal of this nature was made in the Jacobin Club. But Robespierre, with his usual timidity, shrank from any decisive action. Not a move was made in the direction of the dethronement of the King. The constitutional party was unwilling to adopt any definite measure. They concluded to replace Louis upon his throne, and even to consolidate his authority. It was thought necessary to strengthen the executive power in

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order to combat the extreme republican faction, which was becoming dangerous.

It was decided to adopt the English maxim, that the king could do no wrong, and hold responsible the men who had acted under his express orders. The fiction was imagined that the King had been abducted; that he had been carried off to the frontier by the aristocrats, who alone were responsible. In spite of the violent opposition of the Left, the decree was adopted on the day following the King's return. He was not declared inviolable, however; he was practically suspended for the time being, and was to continue to be a prisoner in the Tuileries.

Four days after the return from Varennes, the 29 June 1791, the Queen wrote to Fersen:

"I exist! Do not write me: it would compromise us; and above all, do not return under any pretext. . . . We are kept constantly under watch day and night; I care not. Be reassured: nothing will happen to me. The Assembly wishes to treat us with kindness. Adieu. I cannot write more."

This hasty, disjointed letter, sums up exactly the position of the fugitives. Their lives are safe, but no trial, no humiliation is spared them. The Château of the Tuileries is a prison: all the doors are locked; sentinels are posted at all the gates; the apartments of the Queen are guarded; an aide de camp of Lafayette even passes the night in her bed-chamber, placed behind a screen. Letters are opened. The few visitors from the city are subjected to formalities so complicated as to be ludicrous.

In spite of her apparent resignation, Marie-Antoinette was indignant over this constant surveillance. In order not to be exposed to the public gaze, she remained continually in her own rooms, not even descending to the Gardens to take a little exercise.

Two months after the fiasco of Varennes, Madame Campan returned to Paris, and resumed her duties at

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the Tuileries. She states that she found the features of the Queen were not much altered, but her hair had become as white as that of a woman of seventy. At that time most of the harsh precautions had been abandoned: the doors were kept open, and greater respect was paid to the sovereigns. On the day after her arrival, the Queen took Madame Campan into her closet, and said that she would have need of her services in a communication she had established with Barnave, Duport and Alexandre Lameth. The Queen asserted that Barnave was a man worthy of esteem. This statement astonished Madame Campan very much, for at the time she left Paris, many persons spoke of him only with horror. People thought that he had a ferocious soul, because, as he himself wrote in his Memoirs, he had allowed an unfortunate and thoughtless phrase to escape him, at the session of the Assembly when Lally-Tollendal called up the question of the murder of Bertier. Lally, who had devoted fifteen years of his life to defending the memory of his own father, was much moved by the terrible event. He spoke in the name of a son whose father had just been murdered, and he records his horror at the action of Barnave, a son who was then in mourning for his father, who rose and said, "Was the blood which had been shed so pure?" Barnave was really neither barbarous nor insensible, but like Mirabeau he thought that these excesses were but incidents of the reaction against oppression.

In reply to Madame Campan's expression of astonishment, Marie-Antoinette said that she was not surprised at it, but told her that Barnave was much changed; that he was full of talent and noble feeling, and merely misled by the ambition to which real merit gives birth. "If we get the power into our own hands again," she said, "Barnave's pardon is beforehand written in our hearts." "The Queen," continues Madame Campan, "astonished me more and more by the warmth with which she justified the favorable opinion that she had formed of Barnave." The Queen also spoke of his admirable conduct during the return from Varennes; of

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his respectful delicacy and considerate attentions, which had won her esteem.

At the inns where they alighted, the Queen had several opportunities for private conversation with Barnave. He spoke of the errors committed by the Royalists during the Revolution and said that he had frequently been tempted, as a courageous wrestler, who knew the spirit of the age and of the nation, to go and offer his services to the Court whose interests were so feebly defended.

"What weapons would you have recommended me to use?" asked the Queen.

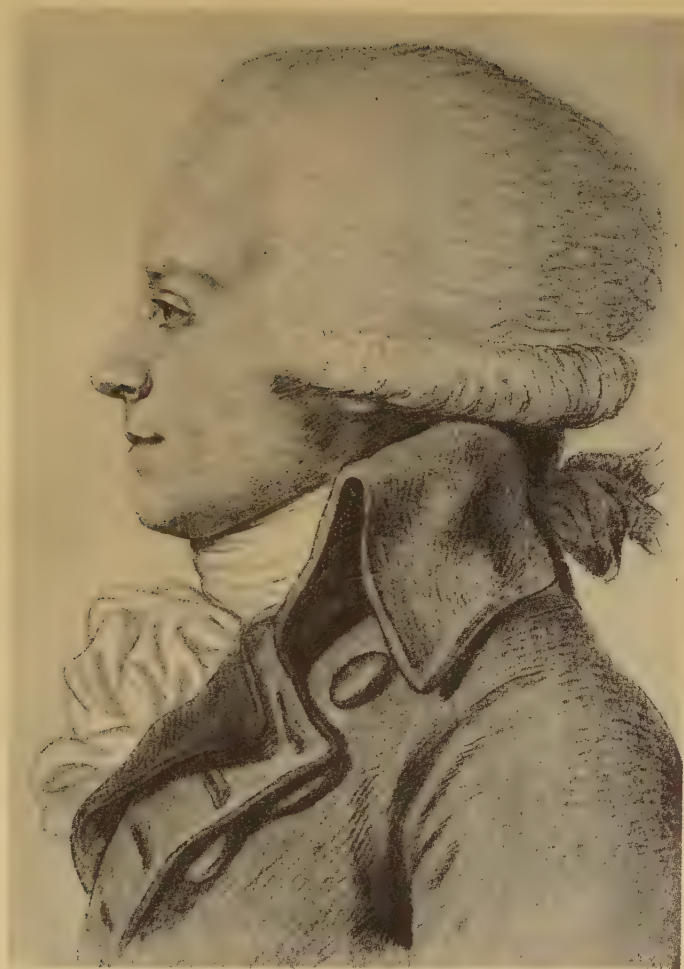
"Popularity, Madame."

"And how could I use that of which I had been deprived?"

"Ah! Madame, it would be much easier for you to regain it than for me to acquire it."

For a long time the relations of Marie-Antoinette with Barnave were known only through Madame Campan's report of this singular conversation. In her "Life of Marie-Antoinette" she states further that the Queen "put her family letters, a great deal of correspondence, which she thought it necessary to preserve for the history of the era of the Revolution, and particularly Barnave's letters, and her answers, of which she had preserved copies, into a portfolio, which she entrusted to M. de J — (Jarjays). That gentleman was unable to save this deposit, and it was burnt." Either this statement is incorrect, or a copy of the correspondence with Barnave was preserved. It passed into the hands of Comte Fersen; was kept by his sister, the Comtesse Piper, at the Castle of Löfstad in Sweden; and was published by M. de Heidenstam in 1913, under the title "Marie-Antoinette, Fersen, et Barnave." The unquestionable authenticity of this publication has thrown a brilliant light upon this interesting and important episode in the life of the Queen.

Through this correspondence we are able to form an opinion of the political motives of the Queen during this last phase of the struggle for the Throne. "In it there



MAXIMILIEN DE ROBESPIERRE

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is revealed," says the Marquis de Ségur, "a new woman, a firm spirit, a clear judgment, breaking courageously with prejudices, sacrificing heartily to the necessities of the moment, her inmost preferences, having the profound instinct of that which, perhaps, might have saved the ancient dynasty from foundering. If the attempt failed, if the fury of the tempest triumphed over the effort of the pilot, the fact of having fought to the bitter end remains at least the honor of Marie-Antoinette."

The story of the first meeting between the Queen and Barnave has already been told. Under the trying circumstances of the return from Varennes the ice was quickly broken. In the over-crowded berline, with four persons on each seat, the Queen held her little son in her arms. The tender way in which she cared for him touched the heart of the commissioner of the Assembly. What at first was only pity for the mother soon changed into admiration for the woman. The profound impression which these two days left on the mind of Barnave can be read in the lines in which he later recorded this great event in his life: "Epoch forever fixed in my memory, which has furnished so many pretexts for infamous calumny, but which, in engraving upon my imagination this memorable example of misfortune, has doubtless helped me to support more easily my own."

Born at Grenoble in 1761, Antoine Barnave was then thirty years of age. He was of medium height but well-made; his face long; his mouth large, with heavy lips; his expression kind; his voice husky. Under a cold exterior, he concealed a passionate disposition. He possessed a remarkable memory, where everything was classified in order. A wonderful extemporaneous speaker, he sought less to shine than to convince, and carried his points through his manifest sincerity. Owing to this persuasive force he was nearly always victorious in his oratorical contests with Mirabeau. Although naturally of moderate opinions and opposed to all excess, at the beginning of the Revolution he had allowed himself to be carried away by the fire of his spirit and the tragedy of

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events. Hence the unfortunate remark which after more than a century still weighs upon his memory.

In spite of his advanced ideas, he had retained his pleasant manners, and in the salons of the great ladies of the day, he was considered a "galant homme."

When Mirabeau became friendly to the Court, he designated Barnave as one of the men whom they could and should win over to moderate ideas. Even before the Varennes episode, he had become disgusted with the violence of the Jacobins. The grace of Marie-Antoinette finished his conversion. When they arrived in Paris at the end of this memorable journey, the Queen had won Barnave, as she had previously conquered Mirabeau — only, as Lamartine remarks, "Mirabeau sold himself, and Barnave gave himself."

As above stated, it was the Queen who took the initiative in this correspondence. The intermediary whom she selected seems to have been one of her most faithful and ardent supporters, the Chevalier de Jarjayes, whose name Madame Campan conceals under the sobriquet of "M. de J —." To him she addressed a remarkable letter, of which the essential passages were as follows:

"I wish you would endeavor to see M. Barnave, and that you would say to him that, struck by his character and the frankness which I have recognized in him during the two days which we have passed together, I much desire to learn from him what we ought to do under the existing circumstances. You will point out to him the extreme difficulty that there is for me to communicate with any one, no matter who he is. He can count on my discretion as well as my character, which will always know how to yield to whatever is necessary for the general good. We cannot remain as we are; it is necessary to do something, but what? I do not know. Therefore I ask him to advise me. He ought to know from our discussions how sincere I am. I shall always be so: it is the only advantage which remains for us and which never can be taken from me. Let him find a means of

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communicating his ideas to me. I shall reply frankly in all respects.

“I count entirely upon the zeal, the force and the intelligence of M. Barnave — not merely for our persons, but for the State and the public weal, which are so identified with the person of the King and his son that they can only be one. It is therefore to the man who most loves the people and his country, and whom I consider the most adroit, that I address myself to save the one and the other; for, once more, they cannot be separated.”

Barnave accepted without hesitation the rôle which was offered him. He only asked permission to call to his assistance two friends, Duport and Lameth, who would lay out with him a plan of action. They were both former Jacobins, and with him had recently resigned from the club. The long political notes sent to the Queen were therefore the joint production of the triumvirate; but Barnave was the soul of the association, and it was he who was to pay with his head for having responded to the appeal of Marie-Antoinette.

Knowing, as we do, the character of the Queen, the question at once arises: How sincere was Marie-Antoinette in this matter? It must be admitted that this is not an easy question to answer. In her letters at this time to her intimate friends we find statements which leave little doubt that she was playing a double game, and using the devotion of Barnave to gain her own ends. To Fersen she writes: “I am keeping for you, for the happy time when we shall see each other again, a volume of very curious correspondence. No one in the world suspects it.”

In the same vein she writes to Mercy: “At this moment I am carrying on a correspondence with Lameth and Barnave of which every one is ignorant, even their friends. It is necessary to do them justice: although they always hold firmly to their opinions, I have never seen in them anything except a great frankness, force, and a real desire to restore order, and consequently the royal authority.”

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On another occasion she exclaims: "You will never be able to believe how much it costs me to do what I am doing now."

But in her letters to Fersen, she goes further. She gives him to understand that, in having recourse to these persons, whom Fersen terms "les enragés," she only wishes to hoodwink them, to make use of them without putting herself in their hands; that, in short, she is playing a comedy, of which she is at times very tired. One of her letters ends with this sentence, very difficult for her admirers to explain: "What happiness if I can one day again become powerful enough to prove to all these scoundrels that I was not their dupe! "

That Marie-Antoinette was playing a double game is also shown quite clearly in the confidential letters from her friends. Mercy and Fersen, in particular, express their surprise and indignation at her course of action, and load her with reproaches.

Troubled by the warnings of her dearest friends, the Queen has many moments of doubt and hesitation. When she reads the notes of Barnave, and, above all, when she talks with him, she is full of hope and confidence that she will be saved by his support. When Mercy reveals his suspicions, she is once more uncertain, and inclined to draw back.

In the case of Fersen, there is another element to take into account. From his letters to the Queen it is quite evident that his jealousy has been aroused by her intimate relations with a man so young, so distinguished, and so seductive as Barnave. So deep is his hatred of his supposed rival, that he goes so far as to desire his death. When he learned the following year of the arrest of Barnave, he wrote: "I sincerely hope that he will be executed: no one has better deserved it! "

One of the strongest admirers of Marie-Antoinette, in his attempt to defend her memory from this charge of duplicity, makes an admission even more damaging to her character. The Marquis de Ségur says:

"Le flair subtil de Marie-Antoinette a vite perçu cette

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nuance (de jalousie). De là la peine qu'elle prend pour dissiper les injustes soupçons. Ce qui semble duplicité n'est que la tendre soin d'une âme aimante et douce pour rassurer l'ami lointain à qui seul appartient son cœur."

The questions discussed in the course of this voluminous correspondence with Barnave were principally three in number: (1) The attitude of Austria; (2) The question of the Émigrés; and (3) The acceptance of the Constitution.

The first object proposed for the action of the Queen was to secure the support of Austria, and prevent her, on the one hand, from making common cause with the Émigrés, and, on the other, from allying herself with Prussia and Russia, who were showing a disposition to intervene in the internal affairs of France. The Queen did not decline the task, but had little hope of success. Her eldest brother, Joseph, was dead, and she had not seen Leopold, the present Emperor, in twenty-six years, or since he left Vienna when she was a little girl of ten years. During the past year, he had shown a more brotherly disposition, but she felt that she had no real influence over him. Nevertheless, she wrote Leopold a letter, which is now lost, to which he replied a month later in very ambiguous terms. In fact, the Emperor was drawing nearer to Berlin, and it seemed as if Austria and Prussia were at last resolved to act together. The Emperor and the King had a conference at Pillnitz, but Leopold was far from desiring war, and sought means of delaying the contest. In deference to the wishes of the Émigrés, however, the sovereigns drew up a very ambiguous and perfectly inoffensive Declaration, by the terms of which all intervention was made dependent upon a general European agreement.

But the Émigrés turned this mild document into an instrument of the most revolting description. This paper, known as the Coblenz Manifesto, practically sealed the fate of Louis the Sixteenth. The King's brothers seemed

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bent on his destruction. When the Queen read at the bottom of this paper the names of Provence and Artois she uttered only one word, "Cain! "

At this time the Émigrés were in a state of disappointment and fury. After Varennes the emigration had recommenced, stronger than ever. It was encouraged by the royal princes, who insisted that the place of honor for the noblesse was beyond the frontiers. Already many of the nobles and public officials had left France, as well as a large number of the officers of the army and navy. At the end of 1791, there were 20,000 émigrés living at Coblenz. The Comte de Provence had proclaimed himself "Regent," and was holding his "Court" at Brussels. Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois were advised by Calonne, the Prime Minister of the Émigrés; and ambassadors were sent to the foreign Courts, where they were very coldly received, except by the King of Sweden, who was residing at Aix-la-Chapelle. Without consulting the Powers, plans were drawn up for the invasion of France, and the taking of Paris was to be followed by the execution of all the Revolutionary leaders, including La Fayette and Barnave.

By sheer pertinacity Artois obtained the Emperor's permission, which he called an "invitation," to be present at the château of Pillnitz during the meeting of two sovereigns. Leopold, who was seeking every means of avoiding a contest, received him very coldly. Frederick William and his favorite Hohenlohe, won over by bribes and female wiles, were in favor of a war, which they thought might give them Alsace. Leopold was entirely satisfied with the Declaration of the 27 August, for he knew that England, under the leadership of Pitt, would remain neutral, and any concert of the Powers was impossible.

Artois, who had been joined at Pillnitz by Calonne, Bouillé, Condé, and Polignac, made much of the Declaration; but at the bottom they were all much disappointed. Their celebrated Manifesto, while it did nothing to advance their interests, was sufficient, in the words of

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Rivarol, a strong royalist, "to rally the hearts and minds of all men to the Legislative Body."

In the opinion of Barnave and his associates, the prolonged absence of the King's brothers, and of a large part of the noblesse, was one of the principal causes of the popular irritation, and increased the suspicions regarding the sovereigns. They felt that the Queen would render a great public service if she could induce at least the royal princes to return, if not all of the voluntary exiles. The Queen agreed with these views, but she had no illusions respecting her influence with the princes and their partisans. Nevertheless she made several attempts in this direction. She wrote a personal letter to Monsieur, and also persuaded the King to do the same, but without any success. The only result of her efforts was to exasperate further the Coblenz faction. They took the ground now that the safety of the King and Queen was of less importance than that of the Monarchy, by which they meant, the restoration of the Old Régime with all its abuses.

The only tangible result of the common efforts of the Queen and the triumvirate was the acceptance by the King of the Constitution. At the session of the third of September 1791 the Assembly had passed the measure, and it only awaited the royal sanction. This work, constructed in haste, and full of defects, was modelled in many points upon the English practice, and left to the King at least an appearance of authority. In the opinion of Barnave, no prince in Europe was more securely seated upon his throne than the King of France. Marie-Antoinette was far from sharing this confidence; and she showed the same sagacity when it came to the form of the letter of acceptance. The advisers had sent a draft of a long and verbose address to be used by the King. This did not please the Queen. "I think," she said, "that the speech of the King should be brief and dignified."

The Constitution was presented to the King on the fourth, and on the 13 September was accepted by him in

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a dignified letter. The following day he went to the Assembly and read his letter. He was received with demonstrations of enthusiasm. Even the Queen, who had smiled graciously, was cheered by the deputies, which proved "the power the Queen might wield," as La Marck wrote her, "if she could overcome her private feelings and cajole this frivolous and fickle people."

On the seventeenth all Paris was making holiday. The King promenaded the Tuileries Gardens, amidst the illuminations, and then went out as far as Chaillot, greeted by constant cheers. There was the same warm reception by the public at the Théâtre Italien where the Queen went with her children. The throne seemed to have recovered a part of its prestige, the sovereigns, some of their liberty. Visitors were allowed freely to enter the Château and the Gardens. Royalist pieces were played and loudly applauded in all the theatres. On the 25 September there was more rejoicing in the capital, and that night the whole city was lighted up. Paris, hung with tricolor flags, was celebrating "the end of the Revolution."

On the day that the Legislative Body was dissolved, Louis repaired to the Manège, and this time the Assembly really greeted him as King. The cheering was long and loud. The King stated that the end of the Revolution had arrived; and this seems to have been the general opinion throughout France. People who had been living in terror since the fall of the Bastille began to breathe anew.

The feeling was very different, however, at Coblenz, where the course of the Queen was stigmatized as "cowardly." She was branded as *démocrate*, Louis, as *solvéau* (a mere cipher of a king). The reports in the journals of the address of the King, and his reception by the deputies, provoked cries of fury.

The Constituent Assembly, with the adoption of the Constitution, had finished its career. Barnave and his friends were not members of the new Legislative

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Assembly, but they continued to advise the Queen. It was at this time that the secret interviews began between Barnave and Marie-Antoinette. Almost at the beginning of the correspondence the Queen had expressed the desire to meet and talk with her advisers. While she was a prisoner, this was impossible, but now that she had partially regained her liberty the plan was feasible. Barnave met the Queen a number of times and had many confidential conversations with her. This intercourse ended with his departure at the close of the year. Discouraged by the political outlook; finding that the Queen did not follow his counsel in anything; and convinced that she placed all her reliance on assistance from abroad, Barnave decided to leave Paris and establish himself at Grenoble, his native place. Madame Campan tells us the story of his last audience with Marie-Antoinette:

"Your misfortunes, Madame," said he, "and those which I anticipate for France, determined me to sacrifice myself to serve you. I see that my advice does not agree with the views of Your Majesties. I augur but little advantage from the plan you are induced to pursue; you are too remote from your succors, you will be lost before they reach you. Most ardently do I wish that I may be mistaken in so lamentable a prediction. I am sure to pay with my head for the interest that your misfortunes have inspired in me, and for the services which I have wished to render you. I request, for my sole reward, the honor of kissing your hand."

The Queen, her eyes suffused with tears, granted him that favor. They were never to meet again.

Faithful to her promise, Marie-Antoinette confided to Fersen all the letters and all the papers which might have compromised her friend; but the King forgot in one of his cabinets a note which revealed the dangerous mystery. Found after the sack of the Tuileries in August 1792, this paper led to the arrest of Barnave at Grenoble. After languishing ten months in prison, he was conducted to Paris in a miserable cart, followed on foot by his mother and sister. On the 27 November 1793 he appeared

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before the Tribunal, and his head fell the following day. The memory of the noble and touching sympathy, awakened during the return from Varennes, and his courageous fight to save the Throne, are an honor to his name, and go far to wipe out the remembrance of his earlier mistakes.

CHAPTER TWELVE

1791-1792

THE GATHERING STORM

End of the Constituent Assembly — Its Great Work — The Legislative Assembly — Its Members — The Girondins — The Enragés — The New Salons — Mesdames de Genlis and de Staël — The Cafés and Theatres — Fersen's Last Visit — His Fate — Death of Gustavus the Third — The "Iron Closet" — Question of the Émigrés — The Army of Condé — The Strasbourg Plot — The Priests — The November Decrees — Resignation of La Fayette — Pétion Elected Mayor — The Desire for War — Narbonne, Minister — His Fall — The New Ministry — Dumouriez and Roland — The Fair Manon

ON the last day of September 1791 the Constituent Assembly held its final session. The King was present, and was received by the deputies with respect. He renewed his oath to observe the Constitution; then Thouret, who presided, made a final speech, thanking the King for his sanction, and extolling the liberties just won for France; at four o'clock he declared the Assembly dissolved.

Thouret was the greatest provincial lawyer elected to the States-General, and was early recognized as one of the ablest speakers in that body. He was born in 1746 at Pont-l'Évêque, in Normandie; was educated at Caen; became an avocat at Rouen, and in time the leader of the bar there. In 1789 he was elected first deputy for the Third Estate at Rouen. In September he was appointed a member of the constitutional committee, and in October became its spokesman. In January 1790 he was elected president of the Assembly; and the following year he took a prominent part in the final revision of the con-

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stitution. In recognition of his services in this connection, in September 1791 he was elected the last president of the Assembly, and in that capacity presented the Constitution to the King for his assent. After the flight to Varennes, his opinions had become less revolutionary, and his reactionary tendencies were not forgotten by the Jacobins, who took their revenge in April 1794, when he was guillotined with Espréménil and Malesherbes.

Without, on the Terrace of the Feuillants, an immense crowd had assembled to greet the retiring members. Louis was welcomed with cries of "Vive le Roi!" Pétion and Robespierre had popular ovations; Malouet was hissed; and Barnave, Duport and the Lameths were received with curses.

"Strange indeed had been the fluctuations of popular applause during the two years' session of the Constituent Assembly," writes Professor Stephens. "Idols had been cast down and new idols had been set up; but there must have been some deputies of the Assembly itself, and some, even many, of that cheering, enthusiastic crowd, who remembered the one great man, who will ever remain the true hero, as well as the greatest statesman and greatest orator of the Constituent Assembly — the great Mirabeau."

At the close of the history of the famous Assembly, it is proper to speak of the good it did, rather than of the mistakes it made. Much of its work has never been undone. It abolished feudal privileges, and established civil equality. It limited the royal authority, and placed the political power of the Nation in the hands of its chosen representatives. It reformed justice, and instituted the jury in criminal cases. It modified the fiscal régime, and made the taxes uniform for all classes. It suppressed all the barriers to liberty of work, and to the free circulation of products in the interior of France: it thus gave the impulse to individual initiative, which was to increase the power and the riches of the country in a marvellous manner, and make France the first great modern State

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of the Continent. Last, but not least, it abolished the old provinces, each with its own dialect and own laws, and made all the inhabitants Frenchmen, and not Picards or Provençals.

The old deputies, departing weary of their work, had decreed that none of their number should be a member of the new Assembly — a fatal mistake. The composition of the new Legislative Assembly, which met on the first of October, was in every respect different from that of its predecessor. As in the first Assembly, there was a large proportion of lawyers, but on the other hand there was a smaller number of priests, and many more professional politicians. The most striking feature was the large number of men of scientific and literary ability, such as Carnot, Brissot and Condorcet.

Brissot, who was born at Chartres in 1754, like many actors in the Revolution was educated for the bar. As a deputy for Paris in the National Assembly, he wielded considerable influence, and became one of the leaders of the Girondins. In the Convention, he voted for the death of the King, but hoped that an appeal to the nation would save him. After the fall of the Girondins, he was executed with twenty of his party on the 31 October 1793.

Condorcet was born in 1743, the son of a cavalry officer stationed near Saint Quentin. He was educated by the Jesuits at Reims, and then at the Collège de Navarre, where he was a brilliant scholar. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly of 1791, and became president in 1792. In the Convention, as a rule, he voted with the Girondins. He voted against the death of the King, but in favor of the severest punishment. Accused by the extreme Left, he hid for eight months, but on changing his refuge was arrested; the next day he was found dead, whether by suicide was never positively known.

In the new Assembly, the Royalists were few in number, but contained many men of ability. Among the ablest was the *ci-devant* Comte de Vaublanc. He was the son of a Burgundian nobleman by a rich Creole, and was

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born on the island of Saint-Domingue in 1755. At the age of seven he was taken to Paris, and educated there at the École Militaire. In 1774 he became an officer in the Régiment de la Sarre, and then went to his native island, where he married. On his return to France in 1782 he left the army and established himself near Melun. In 1791 he was elected deputy to the Legislative Assembly, by the department of the Seine-et-Marne.

The strongest party numerically in the whole Assembly was that of the Feuillants. Their two most distinguished leaders were Mathieu Dumas, a young aide de camp of La Fayette, and the learned jurist, Bigot.

Dumas was the son of a treasurer of the finances, and was born at Montpellier in 1753. He entered the army in 1767, and was an aide de camp of General de Rochambeau in America. He was a frequent attendant at the sittings of the Constituent Assembly, and became well known to the deputies, who entrusted him with several important missions. While engaged in this work he was elected to the Legislative Assembly by the department of Seine-et-Oise.

Bigot was the son of an avocat at Rennes, where he was born in 1747. After taking the degree of Doctor of Laws at the university there in 1768, he came to Paris to practice his profession. He became one of the early members of the Jacobin Club, and in September 1791 he was elected as one of the deputies for the capital to the Legislative Assembly.

Upon the opening day, there sat on the left of the Assembly a small number of deputies from Bordeaux. They were Vergniaud, Guadet and Gensonné, all men of great distinction, but all dreamers. They were destined to short but brilliant careers, and were all to die miserably. This was the nucleus of the future Girondin party, which took its name from the new department of the Gironde, of which the great city of Bordeaux was the capital. The name was later extended so as to include many men who had no connection with the Gironde.

Vergniaud, who was not only the greatest orator of

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the Girondins, but also of the Revolutionary period, was born at Limoges in 1753. He attracted the attention of Turgot when he was intendant of Limousin, and he gave him a scholarship at Paris. He afterwards studied law, and was admitted to the bar at Bordeaux in 1781. He soon obtained a large practice, and his eloquence led to his election to the new Assembly in 1791. At Paris he justified the high reputation he had won, and became the leader of the Republican party. But he was an orator rather than a statesman, and his great indolence prevented him from attaining the position his talents deserved.

His two colleagues, Guadet and Gensonné, were distinguished rather as adroit politicians than as orators. They were both leading members of the bar at Bordeaux at the time of their election to the Assembly.

The leaders of the small but noisy party of the "Enragés" were Merlin de Thionville, Chabot and Basire. Merlin came of a good bourgeois family of Thionville, where he was born in 1762. He studied law at Paris, and was admitted to the bar at his native place, where he attained great success. In the Assembly he was one of the leaders of the extreme party, and opposed all the measures advanced by the King or his ministers; but later he became one of the grandest figures in the Convention, famous as a representative on mission, and, after the fall of Robespierre, as a statesman with a profound knowledge of foreign affairs.

Chabot had been a Capuchin friar; and Basire, an avocat. They were closely connected in the Assembly and the Convention, and both were finally guillotined on the same day.

These were the chief new men sent up from the provinces to the new Assembly, and they were all remarkable for their extreme youth. With the exception of Bigot, who was forty-four, they were all under forty, and their youth partly accounts for their enthusiasm.

The Paris of 1791, which so greatly attracted the Girondins, and had such immense influence on the Revo-

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lution, resembled the Paris of 1789 only in one point, and that was its gaiety. Places of amusement of every kind had increased and multiplied, and the young deputies from the provinces yielded easily to the fascination of the capital. Most of the old Royalist salons had disappeared, but new ones had taken their places. The leaders of the new society were Madame de Genlis and Madame de Staël.

Madame de Genlis, the former governess of the children of the Duc d'Orleans, had moved from her old residence in the Rue Saint-Dominique, and had taken a house in the Rue Saint-Honoré, close to the Manège; here she received her old friends, and some new ones, whose names were to be even more famous. But there was a new salon, where a younger woman reigned, which completely outshone the old meeting-places of 1789, and that was the home of Madame de Staël.

Madame de Staël, the daughter of Necker, and the wife of the Swedish ambassador, was then at the height of her reputation as a woman of politics and of society. She had been prominent ever since her marriage to the Baron de Staël-Holstein in 1787, when she was only twenty-one years of age. The particular star of her *entourage* at this time was Comte Louis de Narbonne, one of the first of her numerous band of lovers. Her affection for him was well known to all the world, and she cared not who knew it. At that time she was quite a fervent Royalist, but neither the King nor the Queen liked her or her coterie. Her power, however, was very great in Paris, and the King was finally forced to yield to her wishes, and admit Narbonne to the ministry.

The diminution in the number of the salons had increased the importance of the cafés, which by the end of 1791 had become the rendez-vous for the politicians. But the cafés which were prominent during the Revolution were not the same as those which were frequented by the writers and the artists earlier in the century. Notable among the new places were the Cafés de Valois, de la Régence and de Foy. The first named was the favorite



MADAME ROLAND

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meeting-place of the Feuillants; the second, the resort of the friends of La Fayette, and of the officers of the National Guard, who held their dinners there. But the most famous of all was the Café de Foy, which was frequented by the stock-speculators, who made money quickly and spent it lavishly.

The theatres of Paris had naturally been affected by the Revolutionary fervor. The Royalist actors of the Théâtre-Français objected to giving Republican plays, and in April 1791 broke away and took the old theatre, where the Odéon now stands. Here they gave pieces which pleased their Royalist supporters, but correspondingly disgusted their neighbors, the Cordeliers, who two years later secured the arrest of the entire company.

On the other hand, the Jacobin actors, headed by Talma, migrated to a theatre in the Rue Richelieu, which they renamed the Théâtre-Français de la Rue Richelieu. It is hardly necessary to say that this house was the most popular with the masses in the Paris of that day.

In February 1792, a month after the departure of Barnave, Comte Fersen arrived at Paris from Brussels. He came under an assumed name, with a false passport, and disguised with a big perruque. On the thirteenth, after dark, he visited the Tuileries, where he saw the Queen for a moment. The following day he was received again, and this time the King was present. A week later he came for the third time, and took supper with the sovereigns. At midnight he left for Brussels.

The object of Fersen's return to Paris was to arrange for a new flight, but he was met by a firm refusal. The King, on account of his promise to remain, was not willing to make the attempt, and could not, if he would, in view of the close watch which was kept.

In leaving, Fersen carried away grave doubts regarding the security of the sovereigns. They were no longer able to leave the Tuileries, and their lives were in constant danger. Under these circumstances the Queen was finally forced to admit that there was no hope for succor except

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from abroad. Up to this time she had always resolutely opposed the plans of the Émigrés for foreign intervention.

This was the final meeting between Fersen and the Queen, although they continued to correspond until the end. The depths of his despair, on learning of her captivity, are depicted in his letters to his sister; and after the final catastrophe it is impossible to read without emotion his heart-broken cries. Even a year after her death he writes to his sister: "Her loss will be the great sorrow of my life; never have I loved her so dearly." From the moment that he made his last adieux to Marie-Antoinette, his life was only one long torment. Loaded with honors under the reign of Gustavus the Fourth: senator, chancellor of the Académie d'Upsal, grand maréchal of the kingdom of Sweden, he bore at the bottom of his heart a wound which nothing could heal. On the anniversary of the flight to Varennes, the 20 June 1810, he lost his life in an *émeute* in the streets of Stockholm, an innocent victim also of popular frenzy.

Such was the end of this long liaison, the only romance in the life of Marie-Antoinette!

Within the short space of three weeks, after Fersen's visit, Marie-Antoinette was to mourn the sudden loss of the two sovereigns from whom she expected succor: her brother, the Emperor Leopold, and the King of Sweden, Gustavus the Third. On the first day of March, Leopold died suddenly, and on the sixteenth, Gustavus was assassinated.

On the return of Gustavus from Aix-la-Chapelle to Stockholm, he had formed the plan for a great autocratic crusade, as the champion of "divine right," and the savior of the French Throne. In the autumn of 1791, the King actively began preparations for war. He had taken into his service the Marquis de Bouillé, who had left France at the time of the failure of the flight to Varennes. This able general was to assist in his councils, and to fight with him under the flag of Sweden.

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At this time a plot was formed against the King by a number of nobles, who felt that they had personal grudges against him. During the following six months the conspirators had several opportunities for carrying out their plans, but at the last moment their courage failed them. Finally, they decided to take advantage of the occasion of the last masqued ball of the season, to be held at the Opéra on the night of the 16 March 1792, at which Gustavus was to be present. The King received several warnings to be on his guard, but paid no attention to them. On the night in question, after appearing for a moment in his box, he descended to the floor of the ball-room and made a tour of the hall. He then entered the foyer, where he promenaded for several minutes. Here he was mortally wounded in the left hip, by a shot from a pistol, fired by one of the conspirators. He lingered for thirteen days, and then met his end with a calm and resignation which excited the admiration of every one. He passed away on the morning of the 29 March 1792, at the age of forty-six.

At Paris the news of his death was hailed with joy by the Jacobins, while Louis and Marie-Antoinette were overwhelmed with grief at the tragic end of their faithful friend. The assassination of Gustavus inaugurated a series of great catastrophes: the 16 March was to be the prelude to the 21 January.

About this time the King fell into a state of despondency, which amounted almost to nervous prostration. He passed days at a time without uttering a single word. He took no exercise, and his only distraction was a game of backgammon which he played with his sister after dinner. The Queen finally succeeded in arousing him from this condition.

Louis had an immense quantity of State papers, many of them dating back to the two previous reigns, and he conceived the idea of making with a locksmith, who had worked with him for many years at his favorite pastime, a place of concealment in an inner corridor of his apart-

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ment. This was the famous "Iron Closet" (*Armoire de Fer*). The wall in which it was hidden was painted to imitate large stones, and the opening was entirely concealed among the rabbets, which were painted brown in imitation of mortar joints. This depository might never have been discovered except for the treachery of the workman, in whom from long habit the King placed too much confidence. He was a secret Jacobin, and informed the Assembly of the existence of the closet.

As already stated, the leaders of the new Assembly were from the provinces, and the question of the *Émigrés* was one which affected the country districts more than the cities. It was therefore one of the first matters to be discussed by the deputies. The nation and the representatives thought that the *Émigrés* were much more dangerous than they really were. The Declaration of Pillnitz and the Coblenz Manifesto had aroused legitimate anger in the country. That the King's brothers should have signed these papers was regarded as an affront to the nation. The nobles were departing in greater numbers every day. They were treated as outcasts in the provinces and their lives were in constant danger. Crowded on the banks of the Rhine, they were awaiting events. Many of them would have liked to return, and would have done so if the Assembly had pursued a more liberal policy.

But unfortunately another section of the *Émigrés* was stirring up indignation rather than pity. They were arming on the eastern frontier and threatening their countrymen with war and destruction. They had formed a legion called the "Army of Condé." The Prince de Condé, a veteran of the Seven Years' War, and the only living Bourbon who had shown any signs of military ability, had established his headquarters at Worms, in the palace of the Elector-Archbishop of Mayence. With his son, the Duc de Bourbon, and his grandson, the Duc d'Enghien, he was organizing an army of *émigrés* for the invasion of France. It was these activities which twelve

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years later formed the basis of the charges brought against Enghien, and led to his execution by Napoleon. The nucleus of this army was: the cavalry regiments, Royal-Allemand and Dauphin; the hussars of Berchiny; and the Irish regiment of Berwick, which had all deserted *en masse* and crossed the frontier with their officers. Cardinal de Rohan, Vicomte de Mirabeau, and other nobles, had also raised regiments, or legions as they were called in Germany. These organizations took the names of the old household corps, or of the regiments of noble cavalry and infantry. By the end of 1791, Condé had under his command about 23,000 men, including the flower of the French nobility. This army, which did not want in courage, though not very amenable to discipline, was a real source of danger to France.

The Emperor Leopold, the Duke of Würtemberg, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Margrave of Baden, in fact all of the South German princes, were disturbed by the presence of this army, and disliked and feared it as much as the French Assembly.

Under the circumstances, Condé saw the necessity of establishing himself in France, before he was expelled from Germany, and his army disbanded. He began to scheme to get possession of Strasbourg, a strong fortress, close to the frontier, which would make an ideal headquarters for his army. The city was garrisoned by about 15,000 men, mostly new recruits, under the command of Marshal Lückner, a soldier of fortune, whom they thought it would be easy to win over. But the well-laid scheme was foiled. The young Prince de Broglie arrived in January to take up his post as chief of staff to Lückner, and his presence was enough by itself to confirm the old marshal's loyalty to his adopted country. A month later, the protests of the South German princes, supported by the Emperor Leopold, forced Condé to leave Worms and retire further into Germany. The importance of this plot cannot be overestimated, although it has been characterized by one brilliant writer as smacking of "comic opera." The Legislative Assembly was well

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justified in treating the matter seriously, and in adopting decrees regarding the Émigrés.

Another burning question was that of the priests who had not taken the oath. The hostility of these men to the new régime was undeniable, but it was directed against the new arrangement as to religion, and in no sense against the new civil laws. The various local movements, however, were declared to be the outcome of a vast plot among the priests to overturn the Constitution, and this was used as a pretext for treating the priests, like the Émigrés, as "accomplices of the foreigners."

In the debate, lasting over eleven sittings, the Émigrés were dealt with first. The new leaders of the Gironde came to the front and took the leading part. Brissot and Isnard proposed measures of the greatest severity. Vergniaud's eloquent address was frantically applauded. As to the royal princes, everybody was agreed. By a unanimous vote, Monsieur was called on to return to France within two months, on pain of losing his rights both as to the regency and the throne.

The fate of the Émigrés was settled on the ninth of November. The decree declared that every émigré who was not back in France by the first of January 1792 was to incur the penalty of death and confiscation. To the honor of Condorcet be it said that he opposed this abominable measure.

Twenty days later came the turn of the priests. After a debate which raged through ten whole sittings the decree was voted: the priests were ordered to take the oath on pain of being treated as suspected rebels.

When the decrees were submitted to the King, he accepted the first, regarding his brother, but refused his sanction to the other two. This veto marks the beginning of the crisis which ended in the fall of the Throne.

These November decrees seemed to the King to be contrary to the Declaration of Rights and to the Constitution, and in this position he was warmly supported by many men of moderate views. He might, in fact, have succeeded in averting the crisis, if at that very

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moment there had not come a sudden and hostile change in the attitude of Europe, brought about by the machinations of the Émigrés, which rendered futile the best efforts of the King and his ministers.

At the close of the year it became apparent that the King's veto had increased his unpopularity and rendered his position more dangerous. La Fayette, who was now out of favor with the National Guard, resigned his command in disgust. Still more important was the change in the mayoralty: Bailly resigned, after more than two years of perpetual worry. The poor old man had done his best, but he had not the force to fill a position so difficult, in a time which demanded a firm ruler. La Fayette had the temerity to propose himself for the vacant office, but was defeated on the 17 November by Pétion, the candidate of the Jacobins, who was elected by a triumphant majority.

Pétion was the deputy of the extreme Left who had shared the ovation of Robespierre the day of the adjournment of the Constituent Assembly. But, unlike Robespierre, who possessed many of the qualities of a great statesman, Pétion was a very vain, ordinary, and incompetent man. His rudeness during the return from Varennes had disgusted the royal family, and he now showed his Republican simplicity by refusing to go to the Tuileries on the first of January to offer his congratulations on the "Jour de l'An," a formality which Bailly, with the grace of an old courtier, had never neglected. While the people admired the austere Robespierre, Pétion, with his handsome face and pleasant personality, had won their hearts, and he was adored until his weakness became manifest.

The Girondins were now anxious to come into power, and were bent on expelling the Feuillant ministry. The election of Pétion had encouraged them. The attitude of the foreign Powers was not satisfactory, but the actions of the Girondins made it worse. The country, moved by a mysterious impulse, was beginning to desire war, and the dominant party in the Assembly only followed the

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trend of public opinion. The King did not wish for war, but he yielded to pressure and appointed Narbonne Minister of War.

This lover of Madame de Staël was a man of great charm, with a very noble nature. It was said that the blood of Henri Quatre flowed in his veins. He was born in 1755, of an old Spanish family, and was therefore quite young when he entered office. His mother had been lady of honor to the Duchess of Parma, aunt of Louis the Sixteenth. He was brought to Versailles when only a child, and was educated under the eyes of the King's aunts. He was very ambitious, and after marrying a rich heiress in 1782 he took lessons in international law to fit himself for public life. He had a distinguished career in the army, and was later to figure honorably among the aides de camp of Napoleon. Madame de Staël had set her heart on his becoming minister, and he owed his appointment largely to her intrigues.

Narbonne himself desired war. He realized that the Army was falling to pieces from desertions, and he thought that only a foreign war would bring the men back to their sense of duty. He also felt that this was the surest way of restoring the King's prestige, and saving the Throne. After a tour of inspection to the eastern frontier, he declared that the troops and the fortresses alike were ready. For one short hour he was the most popular man in France. This alarmed the extreme Left, and in the Jacobin Club he was bitterly attacked by Robespierre. The Court party failed to support him. Marie-Antoinette hated him on account of his relations with Madame de Staël, and once more her evil genius asserted itself. After holding office only three months, Narbonne was forced to retire. Within a week, all of the old ministers sent in their resignations. The Girondins were masters of the field.

The most important members of the new ministry were Dumouriez, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Roland, who had the portfolio of the Interior.

Dumouriez, whose real name was Charles-François

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Dupérier, was born at Cambrai in 1739, of a family of the *noblesse de la robe*. His was educated at the Collège Louis-le-Grand, at Paris, and afterwards entered the army and served with great distinction through the Seven Years' War, receiving twenty-two wounds. He was then placed on the retired list, with the Cross of Saint-Louis and a small pension. Later he was employed by the great minister Choiseul in many secret missions, which finally landed him in the Bastille, where he remained six months. Released upon the accession of Louis the Sixteenth, he returned to the army, and was in command of a regiment at Cherbourg at the outbreak of the Revolution. A hard liver, and a braggart, but with agreeable manners, this grandson of Molière's lackey "had played as many parts as one of Lesage's heroes, and resembled one of Beaumarchais' valets in character."

Roland, the most important colleague of Dumouriez, also belonged to the *noblesse de la robe*, and was born near Lyon in 1734. At an early age he entered the civil service, and was for many years inspector-general of factories at Amiens. In 1786 he was promoted to a similar post at Lyon, where he took a keen interest in politics. When his office was suppressed under the Revolution he moved to Paris. The appointment of Roland was approved by everybody; but he was a narrow, pedantic individual, who made even virtue seem odious. He had only one thing in his favor—his wife, the fair Marie-Jeanne, known to her intimates as "Manon."

The moment has arrived for the appearance upon the political scene of a woman, born in a modest state of life, who, after having lived in obscurity for thirty-eight years, was to become celebrated in a few days, and attract the attention of the whole of France. Manon was born at Paris on the 18 March 1754, the daughter of the engraver Philipon. Her father was intelligent, but frivolous; her mother was simple, devout and mediocre. As a child Manon was very precocious, and began at an early age to read the works of the philosophers, particularly Rousseau. She was educated in a convent, and was unfortunate

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enough to lose her mother at the age of twenty-one. In February 1780, she married Roland de la Platière, a man twenty years her senior, of an old and very honorable bourgeois family. Thin, bald, not at all well-groomed, he was anything but an ideal husband.

Shortly after their marriage, her husband was transferred to Lyon, where until the outbreak of the Revolution they lived a quiet life, with no remarkable incidents. In 1791, Roland was sent to Paris to look after the financial interests of Lyon. They arrived at the capital on the 20 February, and took up their quarters at an inn. Here for the first time Madame Roland formed a sort of political salon, in which Brissot was prominent. It was then that she made the acquaintance of Buzot. From that moment her heart was divided between two passions: ambition and love. She formed a very strong attachment for this attractive man, who was six years younger than herself.

In September the mission, which had kept Roland seven months at Paris, ended, and the couple left for home. Shortly after their return to Lyon, news was received of the suppression of his office as inspector of manufactures. Manon wished at all hazards to live in Paris, to be near her dear Buzot. She flattered the *amour-propre* of her blind spouse, and persuaded him that the capital was the only theatre worthy of the "virtuous Roland." Accordingly, on the 15 December we find M. and Mme. Roland back at Paris and installed on the Rue de la Harpe. At the beginning of the year 1792, Roland became interested in politics, and on the 24 March, through the influence of Brissot, he received the portfolio of the Interior.

In order to understand the terrible hatred which Manon showed towards Marie-Antoinette, it is necessary to go back many years. Shortly before the death of her mother, when she was only twenty, she made a visit to Versailles with her mother, an uncle, and a female friend. All four were lodged at the Château. Their rooms were just under the roof, poorly furnished, and in her opinion only fit for servants. It was then that this child of the

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common people conceived a feeling of envy and hatred for those placed in a higher position than herself, which she was never to overcome.

The 24 March 1792, Roland with his wife moved to the magnificent hôtel of the Minister of the Interior, which was then situated upon the site where the Théâtre-Italien was later built. This handsome and luxurious hôtel had been formerly that of the controller, and had been the residence of Calonne and Necker.

At this time Madame Roland, who was just thirty-eight, was still very attractive. Her portrait is thus traced by a contemporary: "Her eyes and her hair were remarkably beautiful; her complexion was delicate, with a freshness and a brilliancy which made her look singularly young. At the beginning of the first ministry of her husband, she had not yet lost her air of youth and simplicity; while her husband resembled a Quaker of whom she might have been the daughter."

More than most men of her generation did this young woman influence the destinies of France between 1791 and 1793. She was "a strange mixture of laxity and enthusiasm, of Spartan virtue and romantic passion, of ardent generosity and cold calculation. When such a woman sets herself to inspire a group of eager public men, fuses them into a party, rules a whole ministry, hurls it down when the time comes, works after its fall to build it up again, and fills the soul of a Buzot, a Brissot and a Pétion with her own enthusiasms and hatreds and prejudices, the historian is constrained to give her his attention."

Still charming, although she had nearly reached her fortieth year; with a pretty, delicate face, "like a Greuze picture"; with short hair; she imagined herself a Greek or Roman "hero"—for she considered herself most masculine; yet *au fond* she was a thorough woman—fanciful, passionate, *exaltée*; absolutely incapable of sound judgment; her views always governed by her affections or her dislikes.

She was an ardent Republican, and hated the Queen

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with the animosity of a jealous parvenu who detests the aristocracy because he was not born to that estate. She treated Marie-Antoinette with a complete lack of respect, and used a brutality of language which it is impossible to excuse.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1792

THE FALL OF THE THRONE

War Declared on Austria — Popular Approval — The Federates — Roland Dismissed — Dumouriez Resigns — The Sections Arm — Santerre — The Twentieth June — The Mob at the Tuileries — Bonaparte's Remark — The People Enter the Palace — Attitude of the King and Queen — Pétion Arrives — Public Indignation — La Fayette at Paris — The Court Refuses His Aid — The Month of July — The "Kiss of Lamourette" — The "Marseillaise" — The Queen's Last Scheme — Preparations for the Revolt — Arrangements to Defend the Tuileries — Mandat Killed — The Night at the Château — The King Leaves for the Manège — The Defence of the Palace — The Swiss Ordered to Retire — Their Massacre — The Lion of Lucerne — Suspension of the King — The Temple — The Royal Family Confined There

ON the 20 April 1792 the Assembly was in a state of feverish excitement. It was known that the Council had decided in favor of war. The Ministers were expected, and possibly the King as well. At noon Louis made his appearance. His face was placid, and he "moved as in a dream." He read the paper prepared by the Ministers, declaring in favor of war with Austria, in a voice devoid of emotion, "in the same tone of voice," records Madame de Staël, "as that in which he might have proposed the most unimportant decree in the world."

As soon as the King had departed, the debate began. The few deputies who tried to speak in opposition to the decree were hooted down. The moderate party failed to obtain any hearing at all. Amidst frantic transports of enthusiasm, war was declared by a practically unanimous decision, there being only seven votes in the negative.

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The news was received in every quarter with expressions of approval. For scarcely concealed ulterior motives every one desired war: the Court party, to stifle the Revolution; the extremists, to give it a new impetus. The attitude of Marie-Antoinette at this time cannot be too strongly condemned. Ten days later she revealed to the Austrian Court the unsuccessful negotiations of Dumouriez with the Great Powers. She hoped that the French army would be defeated and the nation forced to cringe at the feet of its sovereigns. It would be a miracle indeed if her wish was not gratified. What chance, against a united Europe, had France, with an almost unguarded frontier, an army of raw recruits, led by untried officers, a traitorous Court, an inexperienced ministry, and an Assembly composed of demagogues?

On the fourth of June, Servan, the Minister of War, came to the Assembly with a most dangerous proposal. A second Fête of the Federation was to be held on the 14 July. Contrary to the views of the Council, Servan made a motion that each canton should send to Paris five Federates, armed and equipped, and that after the fête on the Champ-de-Mars these 20,000 men should be assembled in a camp near the city. This decree was passed on the sixth of June. There was a violent scene in the Council between Dumouriez and Servan, who nearly came to blows, and a part of the Ministry threatened to resign if the King used his veto.

On the tenth, at the meeting of the ministers, Roland drew from his pocket a "Letter to the King," written by Manon, and couched in anything but respectful terms. Louis quietly took the letter from Roland's hands, folded it up, and put it in his pocket. Three days later the minister received a letter from the King directing him to give up the portfolio of his office. He was quickly followed into private life by Servan, and Dumouriez became Minister of War.

The Assembly for a moment was stunned by this appearance of firmness. The fallen ministers were greeted as "martyrs," and Roland's letter was ordered printed.

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Dumouriez, on his appearance at the Menège, was fiercely assailed. He might nevertheless have weathered the storm if the Court had sustained him; but the King distrusted him almost as much as he did Roland. Dumouriez, finding himself between two fires, like a prudent general decided to withdraw from an untenable position. He resigned before he had come to an open break with either side. So ended the "Great Ministry," as it was called.

The Assembly was goaded to madness by these events. There must be a day of reckoning! It should be the 20 June, the anniversary of Varennes.

The people of Paris also were indignant over the dismissal of the ministers, and the former leaders of the Constituent Assembly tried in vain to restrain them. Both Danton and Robespierre opposed "partial insurrections, which only serve to weaken the popular cause." The Assembly adopted a decree conveying its regrets to the "patriotic ministers." The situation was analogous to that following the dismissal of Necker three years before.

The royal veto of the decrees on the 15 June again aroused the indignation of the Jacobins and of the Sections. The following day, the Faubourgs resolved to take up arms, and on the 20 June to present petitions to the Assembly and the King. This manifestation was formally forbidden by all the municipal authorities, but the Assembly, dominated by the Left, did not act. Pétion took advantage of this weakness to let the movement follow its course.

Only a few of the Sections were ready for action. There was no general enthusiasm and no concerted plan. Santerre was followed by only 1500 men from his section. A few National Guards were drawn in, against their protests, but most of them remained loyal to the Government.

On the 20 June only two troops assembled: one before the Salpêtrière, the other, commanded by Santerre, at the Place de la Bastille. The men had a battalion flag; they dragged cannon, and a chariot containing a poplar

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which they intended to plant on the Terrace of the Feuillants.

Santerre, who was the son of a prosperous brewer, was born in 1752. After receiving a college education, he bought a large brewery. He made an analysis of the popular English beer, discovered its formula, and soon made an enormous fortune in his business. His kindness and liberality to the people of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, the poorest quarter of the city, where he lived near his brewery, made him very popular. After playing an important part in the attack on the Bastille, where he was severely wounded, in trying to protect the men who had surrendered, he was elected commandant of the National Guards of his faubourg, and was present with his battalion at Versailles on the fifth and sixth of October. When the King departed for Paris he left the Château in charge of the Minister of War, the Marquis de La Tour du Pin, and the minister was much assisted in maintaining order by Santerre, who showed great determination, and the best good-will. This was the man in whose house the events of the 20 June were prepared!

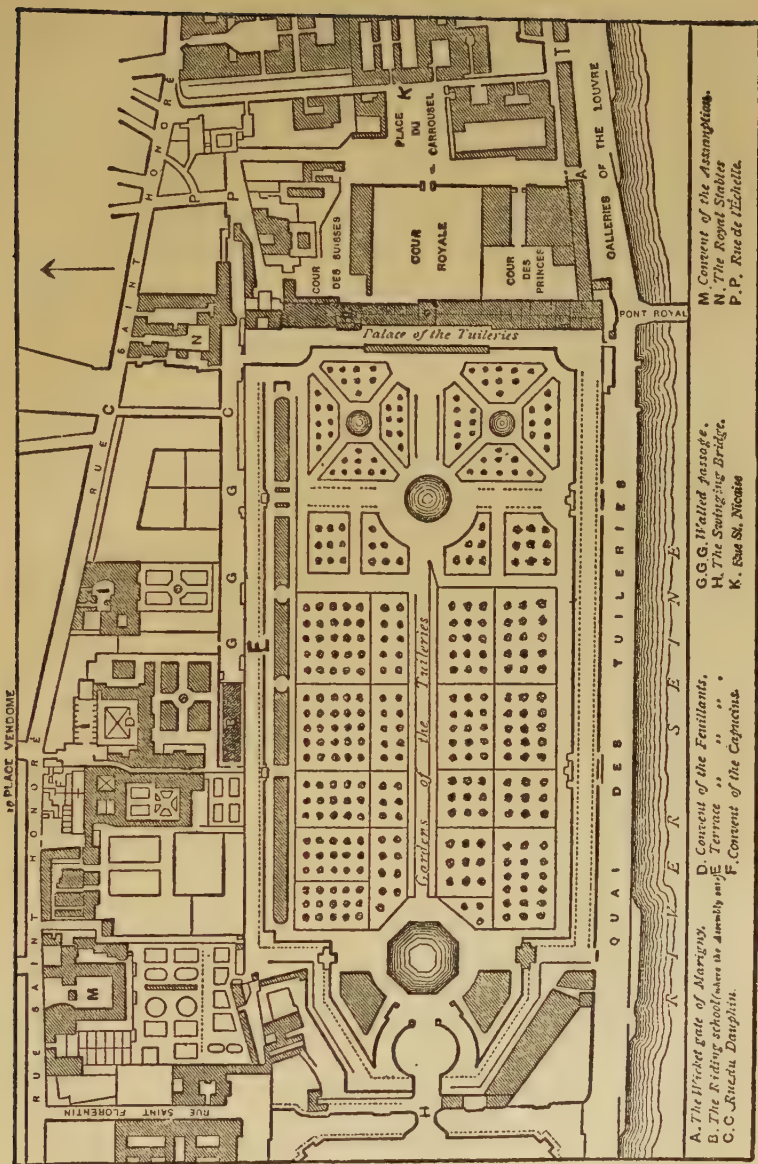
At noon on that eventful day the small army began its march along the quays. Only a few thousand strong at the start, it was augmented on the way, and numbered twenty thousand when it reached the Manège. There were National Guards, some in uniform and some without, armed with guns and dragging cannon; men of the people, with women and children, carrying pikes and lances, axes and clubs.

The advance guard demanded to be received by the Assembly. While the deputies were hesitating the crowd arrived in a body — not by the narrow court of the Manège, but by the Rue Saint-Honoré and the passage of the Feuillants.

It was now two o'clock. The orator of the populace harangued the Assembly. His address was full of menaces, intended to intimidate the members. Then a part of the petitioners defiled before the Assembly, brandishing their arms, and crying "Vivent les Patriotes! A bas



CHATEAU OF THE TUILERIES



THE TUILERIES

- A. The Wicket gate of Marigny.
- B. The Riding school, where the Assembly sat.
- C. C. Rue de Dauphine.
- D. Convent of the Feuillants.
- E. Terrace " " "
- F. Convent of the Capucines.
- G. G. G. Walled passage.
- H. The Souterrain Bridge.
- K. Rue St. Nicolas.
- M. Convent of the Assommoirs.
- N. The Royal Stables.
- P. P. Rue de l'Écluse.

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le veto! " For more than an hour the mob had full possession of the hall. At three-thirty the session was adjourned.

A part of the crowd, massed in the narrow alley leading from the Royal Stables to the Manège, found itself pressed against the wall which separated this court from the Terrasse des Feuillants. Fearing to be crushed, they demanded that the iron gate which communicated with the Tuileries Gardens should be opened. The permission of the King was finally obtained, but in the meantime the crowd had demolished the gate, and was crossing the Gardens to the quays on the southern side.

A few minutes later the mob also broke down the wicket gate from the Quai du Louvre and invaded the Cour du Carrousel. This square, which owed its name to the famous fête given by Louis the Fourteenth in 1662, was very different in 1792 from the large open space familiar to the visitor of to-day. Prior to the reign of Napoleon the Third there was a very labyrinth of narrow streets and alleys, lined by private mansions, stables, barracks, and houses of bad reputation. These buildings housed not only the domestics of the palace, but a very mixed and dangerous population.

The Place was separated from the Cour Royale, or central court of the Tuileries, by a barrier, with a gate in the centre, where now stands the beautiful little Arc du Carrousel erected by Napoleon to commemorate the victories of 1805.

Romainvilliers, the new commander of the National Guard, had at his disposition about 12,000 men, posted upon the terraces of the Gardens, the Place Louis-Quinze, and around the Carrousel. This was enough force to control the mob, but he lacked orders, and was wanting in determination. Besides, he did not realize the danger.

One of the bands of the mob, in going to the Manège, had sent its cannon to the Carrousel, to await its return. This troop now refused to obey the orders of its commander, Saint-Prix, and insisted on forcing an entrance

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to the Tuileries. The men trained the cannon on the gate to the court, and threatened to fire. At this moment the gate was thrown wide open, either forced by the mob, or by reason of orders from within, and the crowd rushed into the Cour Royale.

One of the spectators of this scene was a young Corsican lieutenant of artillery, who was then living miserably at Paris, while trying to justify himself with the Minister of War under the grave charges of "indiscipline and insubordination." We can picture him to ourselves with his Cæsarean profile, his eagle eyes, his olive complexion, his long hair "*en oreille de chien*," a slight figure in a faded uniform, as he witnesses these occurrences, and exclaims to his companion, Bourrienne: "Why do they not sweep off four or five hundred of that *canaille* with cannon? The rest would then run away fast enough." A little more than three years later, from this same place, he was to direct the "whiff of grape-shot which ended the French Revolution."

As soon as the gates were opened the mob rushed into the court of the Château. The guards there offered no resistance: they remained inactive or joined the rioters. Some of the mob entered the palace, and mounted the grand stairway. Others remained in the court, shouting: "Down with Monsieur and Madame Veto! "

The mob rushed through the apartments as far as the door of the room called the *Œil-de-Bœuf*. Here the King was shut in, with his sister, three of his ministers, and some grenadiers of the National Guard. He gave orders to open the door, which the rioters were about to break down. The King stood up on a bench in the embrasure of a window. In a moment the room was filled with a howling mob of rioters. A butcher read a petition, demanding the sanction of the decrees, to which the King calmly and firmly replied: "I will do what the Constitution and the decrees direct me to do."

A man extended to him a red cap on the end of a long pole; the King took it and placed it on his head. The crowd then cried, "Vive le Roi! " The heat in the

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room was stifling, and a member of the National Guard offered the King a bottle of ordinary red wine to drink. He took a drink from the bottle, and cried: "People of Paris, I drink to your health and to that of the French Nation! "

Marie-Antoinette had wished to stay by the side of the King, but she was taken, almost by force, to the Council Chamber, where she was placed at the end of the room behind the ministers' table, which served as a rampart against the populace. Before the table were lined up a few loyal National Guards. The Queen was seated with the Dauphin at her right and Madame Royale at her left. The Princesse de Lamballe stood behind her chair. Here they awaited the arrival of the mob.

They entered, led by Santerre, who acted as master of ceremonies. "Stand aside," he said to the National Guards, "and let the people see the Queen." It was a terrible procession, of thousands of ragged men and women, brandishing pikes and hatchets, crying insults at the Queen, and menacing her with their weapons. Marie-Antoinette endured these outrages with a calm courage.

At last Pétion, the Mayor of Paris, arrived. This "tall fair man, with his insipid good looks and his bland air, at heart a knave and a coward," was one of the most detestable figures of his time. It was now six o'clock, and the mob had been in control of the heart of Paris for twelve hours, but the worthy mayor declared that he had "only just been informed." Louis received the scamp coldly. Pétion addressed the mob, and told them that, having presented their petition to the King, they could do no more; that the King must decide, after reflection, upon his course of action. After this he finally asked them to withdraw. The mob slowly drifted out, and at eight o'clock the Château was at last free of their presence.

That evening Pétion celebrated in pompous terms this "great warning," given by the people to its masters; and in her salon, surrounded by her admirers, the ignoble Manon Roland, commenting on the "just

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lesson" inflicted on the Queen, cried cruelly: "How I would have liked to see her long humiliation! How her pride must have suffered."

The day of the 20 June decided nothing: the people of the faubourgs had obtained no satisfaction; but the majesty of the King had been profoundly attained. "The throne was still standing," says Rœderer, "but the people had seated themselves upon it, and taken its measure."

The Left realized that the outburst had been absolutely lawless, and strove to remove the unfavorable effect produced. Condorcet declared that no harm had been done beyond "the breaking of a few panes of glass." But the feeling of indignation among all decent people was very strong, and a deep reaction in favor of the Throne set in. "The Revolutionary party," says Madelin, "seemed likely to have to pay a heavy price for those panes of glass."

La Fayette left his command and hastened to the capital. He expected to be joined by all who had been disgusted by the scenes of the 20 June, and to improve this opportunity to close the Jacobin Club. On the 28 June he appeared before the Assembly, and, amidst the greatest excitement, vehemently denounced "in the name of the indignant Army" the Jacobins, who were the real inciters of the mob. He was wildly applauded by the Right, and was even acclaimed by the Centre. For a moment the Left was reduced to silence. They thought that the troops were following La Fayette, and if this had been the case, there is little doubt that he would have carried the day. A motion to send him back to the army was defeated by a vote of 339 to 234. The "poor Jacobins" seemed to have few friends. In vain they denounced La Fayette as "the vilest of wretches, a villain and an idiot"; their rage would have been impotent if the Court had supported him. But at the Tuileries he was regarded as an intriguer. "It would be better to perish," said Marie-Antoinette, "than to be saved by M. de La Fayette!"

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It would seem as though folly could go no further, but worse was to follow. On the 29 June the King was to review the National Guard, and La Fayette wished to seize this opportunity to appear before his old troops and urge them to follow him against the Jacobins. Incredible as it may seem, the Court informed Pétion, who countermanded the order for the review, and La Fayette left Paris in disgust. The Court had destroyed its last chance. The reactionary movement was checked in the Assembly: the emboldened Left and the enraged Jacobin Club were now both determined on revenge. The tenth of August was to be their answer to the "seditious" attempt of "that villain Mottier."

The month of July was frightful. The populace never left the Tuileries Gardens. They marched up and down under the windows of the palace, insulting the sovereigns and chanting ignoble refrains against "Madame Veto." Marie-Antoinette was in constant terror of her life. In a letter of the first of August she says to Fersen:

"The arrival of about six hundred Marseillais has greatly increased our inquietude. Assassins prowl continually around the Château. The *factieux* do not take the trouble to conceal the project of wiping out the royal family. In the last two night-sessions they only differed as to the means to employ. If they (the Powers) do not arrive, only Providence can save the King and his family!"

Yet this despairing letter was written only thirty days after the Court had thrown away an opportunity for the King to regain his authority through the assistance of La Fayette. "There is no doubt," writes Mr. Stephens, "that if he had succeeded in restoring the King's power he would himself have become a sort of mayor of the palace, for he never would have given his services for nothing; yet in such an extremity as they were, the King and Queen might well have accepted the General's services, and trusted to fortune to relieve them of his presence afterwards."

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It is difficult to say on what precise date during the fifty days between the 20 June and the 10 August, the Jacobins decided upon the attack on the Tuileries. Robespierre, and the leaders of the Left, drawn together by a common fear, were now working in unison for the overthrow of the Throne. They were waiting for the arrival of the Federates, especially the men from Brest and Marseille, who could not be at the Champ-de-Mars in time for the fête of the 14 July. In the meantime everything possible was done to increase the public excitement.

Early in July, Pétion was suspended from office, for the events of the 20 June, and this action was confirmed by the King. This coward and fool was then very popular, and there was an outburst of fury. The deputies, by an abuse of their powers, repealed the order.

In the Assembly, a decree was proposed for the deposition of the King. During the course of the debate, Lamourette, Bishop of Lyon, made a moving appeal for harmony in the face of the nation's danger. Suddenly a wave of hysteria swept over the Assembly. The deputies embraced each other with tears streaming from their eyes. The good-hearted Louis hastened to the Manège and wept with them, and gave them all his blessing. This scene reveals a state of nerves which explains both the crimes and the splendid deeds of the period: the Court and the Nation alike had lost their heads. On the 10 July La Fayette was cleared of all blame by a vote of two to one; on the following day the Assembly declared the country in danger. At the Champ-de-Mars on the 14 July, Pétion, just reinstated, was the hero of the day. The King and Queen were hooted, and their lives were in danger.

During July the Federates kept pouring into the city, and by the end of the month over five thousand had arrived. They all demanded, not the suspension, but the deposition of the King.

On the 30 July the battalion of Marseille, which had so long been expected, entered the city. So far from being

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a collection of vagabonds, as generally represented, more recent researches have shown that they were a picked body of men, chosen from the National Guard of the city. They had left Marseille 513 strong on the second of July, and had marched slowly to Paris, singing the immortal song to which they gave their name.

The "Marseillaise" had in itself no very radical history. Just after the declaration of war in April, at a banquet in Strasbourg the mayor had remarked that it was a pity that all the national songs treated of loyalty to the king rather than the nation. A young captain of engineers, Rouget de Lisle, who was present, was struck by the idea, and during the night he composed the inspired words and air of the famous war song of the French Republic. The air was a taking one: it quickly spread over France, and particularly appealed to the patriots of Marseille, who gave it the name by which it is now universally known.

Meanwhile the prisoners in the Tuileries were supinely waiting for martyrdom. Many plans were proposed for their escape, but the King, discouraged by the failure of the flight to Varennes, would accept none of them.

At this critical hour the Queen made one last supreme effort, which even to this day remains under a cloud of mystery. Through the physician of Madame de Lamballe she opened communications with certain chiefs of the demagogues, Danton, Robespierre and Santerre, and endeavored by large promises to gain their support. Théodore de Lameth, in his *Mémoires*, recently published, confirms this report, and adds a curious anecdote. At a meeting of the Council, held during the first days of August, at which the Queen was present, it was proposed to the King to have Danton, Santerre and their friends publicly arrested at the Jacobin Club. The King agreed, and all preparations were made for this daring *coup*. But none of these men appeared at the Club on the day set, and the plan failed. At a later date Santerre revealed the fact that he had been warned by the Queen not to

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go to the Club that day! It is also well known that Danton suddenly left Paris at that time and only returned on the eve of the tenth of August.

The overthrow of the monarchy was now definitely decided upon. Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and in fact all of the Jacobins, felt that order could never be reëstablished so long as the King remained on the throne, and they systematically prepared their plans for a revolt which should end the struggle.

The Assembly was well aware that a rising was imminent, but the deputies had no intention of being on hand at the critical hour. At seven o'clock on the evening of the ninth of August the session was adjourned.

It was a stifling hot night and all Paris was out of doors. At eight o'clock the Sections met. The Faubourg Saint-Antoine was in a state of feverish excitement. The great street was brilliantly illuminated, and the patriots were arming. A little before midnight the great bell of the Cordeliers began to toll the tocsin. From many church towers the sound was taken up and repeated.

The Sections at their meetings had elected Commissaries who were to replace the Council-General of the Commune, composed of Constitutional Royalists. The coup d'état at the Hôtel-de-Ville must precede the attack on the Tuileries. By eleven o'clock the newly elected Commissaries were all hurrying to the Hôtel-de-Ville: before another hour had gone by the new Commune was to have wiped out its legal predecessor.

All these preparations were well known at the Tuileries, as no secret of the matter was made in Paris. The King had, therefore, summoned his ministers; also Mandat, the commander of the National Guard, and Pétion, the mayor of the city. The latter declared that the uprising would fail, and that there was no occasion for alarm. He then took his departure and went quietly home.

Mandat, nevertheless, made careful arrangements for the defence of the Château. He relied chiefly upon the known fidelity of the Swiss Guard, who had been re-

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called from their barracks at Rueil and Courbevoie in anticipation of the revolt. They numbered about 900 men; and there were also some 200 of the King's personal friends assembled for his defence, besides the usual battalion of the National Guard on duty at the palace. Mandat had also concentrated in the Gardens twelve of his most trustworthy battalions, some 2000 strong. In addition he had sent cannon to defend the Pont-Neuf, and ordered five battalions to the Hôtel-de-Ville. His measures had been well and carefully taken.

At two o'clock in the morning, Mandat received an order to come to the Hôtel-de-Ville. The commander did not wish to leave his post at the Tuileries, but Røederer finally persuaded him to obey, and he set out, without escort. After being questioned by the new Commune regarding his actions, he was summarily removed from his command and Santerre appointed in his place. He was then arrested, and an order was issued for his transfer, for greater security, to the prison of the Abbaye near Saint-Germain. A few hours later, after the popular victory, he was massacred on the steps of the Hôtel-de-Ville.

At the Tuileries, it was a night of great anxiety. An hour after midnight the Queen and Madame Élisabeth decided to lie down on a sofa in a closet in the entresol, the windows of which commanded the courtyard. The two princesses could not sleep, and a little later the Queen went to the King's apartment.

About six o'clock in the morning the King appeared upon the balcony overlooking the Cour Royale, and was cheered by the troops. Accompanied by the Queen, he then descended to pass the soldiers in review. As one of his attendants afterwards remarked: "During his reign there had been no war upon the Continent, and he had never seen a field of battle; he had the misfortune to be devoid of grace — even awkward; he had the air of a dreamer, rather than of a man of action, which does not please the French military spirit."

Instead of wearing a uniform and mounting a horse,

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the King was dressed in a violet coat, the color of royal mourning. Without boots or spurs, wearing white silk stockings and house-shoes; his hat under his arm; his hair uncombed, and badly powdered, he had nothing martial or royal in his mien. At this moment, when he needed the spirit of a Henri Quatre, "he had the air of a country gentleman mingling with his tenants." To inspire confidence, the first requisite is to have self-confidence: Louis had more of the bearing of a victim than of a sovereign. He utterly failed to arouse enthusiasm, and the cries of "Vive le Roi!" were few and feeble. On their return, Marie-Antoinette said to Madame Campan that all was lost; that the King had shown no energy, and that this sort of a review had done more harm than good.

With the removal of Mandat the defence of the Château was disorganized, and the behaviour of the National Guard was causing alarm. Quarrels broke out in the ranks, and the gunners loudly declared that they would not fire on their brethren. The Tuileries were already invested, and the rioters were beating on the gates of the Carrousel and trying to scale the walls.

Rœderer, after a tour of inspection, advised the King to leave the palace and take refuge in the Manège, where a number of deputies had already gathered. Marie-Antoinette opposed this plan with all her energy: she absolutely refused to leave the Château. The danger was constantly increasing, and Rœderer still insisted, saying, "If you oppose this measure, you will answer, Madame, for the lives of the King and your children." In spite of the continued protests of the Queen, who begged Louis on her knees not to abandon the defence, the King finally gave the order to leave.

This departure, so much to be deplored, took place at eight-thirty. The King walked alone in advance; his wife followed, holding the Dauphin by the hand; the sad procession was closed by Madame Élisabeth, Madame Royale, and many of the ministers. In traversing the Terrasse des Feuillants the little Dauphin amused him-

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self by kicking up the fallen leaves. "They are falling very early this year," said the King. He was never again to see the young leaves on the trees of the Tuileries Gardens!

The few members of the Assembly who were present at that early hour awaited the coming of the King in a state of great agitation. In the *Manège*, behind the desk of the president, there was a small cabinet, about ten feet square, with a grating in front, which was usually occupied by the official reporters of the debates. This was the place of refuge assigned to the royal family.

While the gallant Swiss Guards were valiantly defending the Tuileries, and the reports of the cannon and the muskets, and the noise of the combat, echoed through the hall, Louis, calm and impassable, regarded the orators through his large lorgnette. Since the previous evening neither the King nor his family had eaten anything. A fowl was brought to them, which Louis devoured, while the Queen only wet her lips with ice-water.

When evening came, they were conducted to the neighboring monastery of the Feuillants. Here the royal family occupied four small cells. For beds, they had only mattresses thrown on the floor. They had brought no changes of clothes, and no linen.

On the departure of the King, he had ordered the Swiss to retire into the interior of the building, leaving the defence of the courtyards to the National Guard. But the latter made no resistance: the gunners opened the gates, and the cannon were soon turned on the palace itself. When the rioters reached the steps of the Tuileries, the Swiss opened fire, and the terrified assailants fled in every direction, leaving a hundred men dead and wounded on the stones of the courtyard. The Swiss sortied from the Château, seized the cannon, took possession of the guns in the *Place du Carrousel*, dragged them into the court, and closed the gates. This shows the wisdom of Bonaparte's remark on the 20 June.

The fleeing mob ran into the column arriving from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, and thus reinforced they

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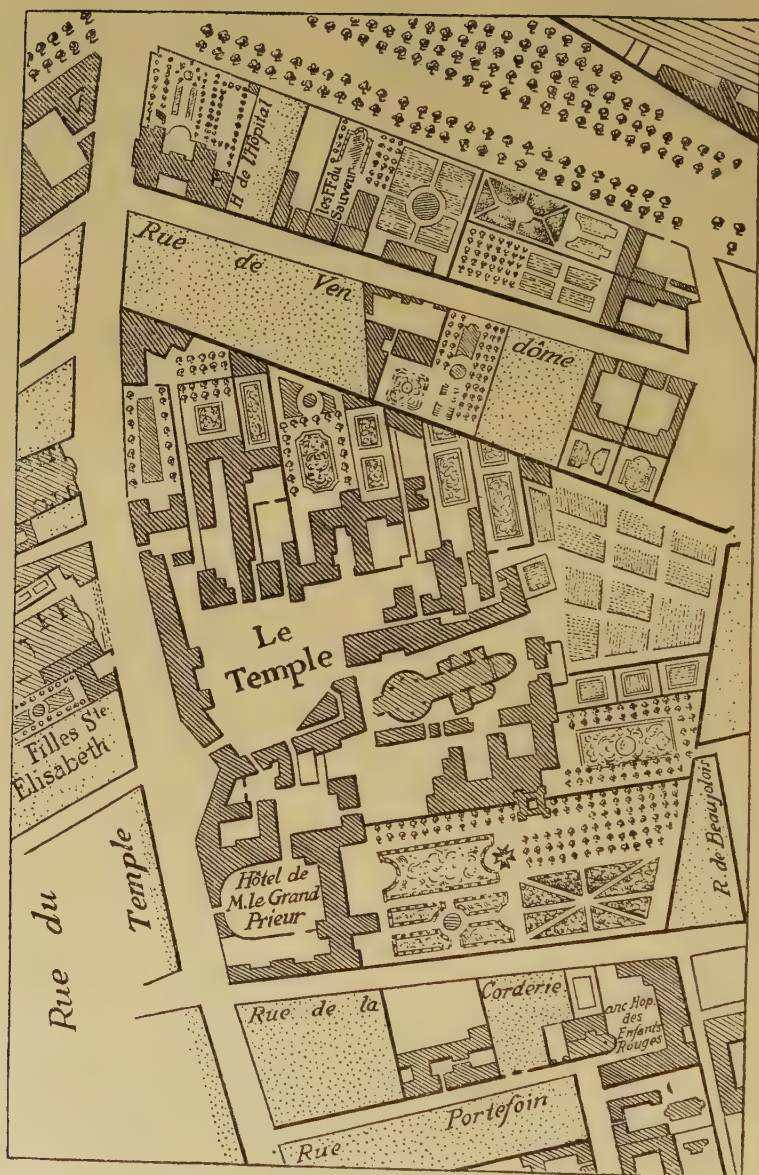
returned again to the assault. The Swiss, who were now short of ammunition, were driven back into the palace again.

When the news of these events reached the Assembly, the King, pressed by the deputies, signed a note ordering the Swiss to cease firing and return to their barracks. They obeyed, and in a moment were pursued, surrounded, and massacred. The Château was sacked by the mob, and nearly all of the servants and attendants were butchered in cold blood.

During the conflict, which lasted two hours and a half, both sides displayed great courage; and the losses were quite heavy. Of the nine hundred Swiss, about two-thirds were killed in the defence of the Tuileries or massacred afterwards; in addition about two hundred of the King's friends, and loyal members of the National Guard, were slain, in all a total of about 800 men. On the side of the people less than 400 were killed or wounded.

The Swiss republic has honored the courage of her children who died for a king. At the gates of Lucerne, a grotto has been hollowed out of the side of a massive rock, and here has been carved in high relief a colossal lion of stone, from the design of the famous Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen. The lion, mortally wounded by a lance, is represented lying, guarding between his paws the royal shield bearing the fleur de lis. Below the lion are engraved the names of the officers and soldiers who fell on the 10 August; while above is cut in the rock the inscription: *Helvetiorum fidei ac virtuti . . .* (To the fidelity and courage of the Swiss).

The three following days were passed by the royal family in the same manner: the afternoon in the little reporter's box and the night at the Feuillants. It was in the presence of the sovereigns that the law of suspension was passed. At this moment, we are told, Louis had the manner of a man delivered from a heavy burden; the Queen closed her eyes, as though she had received a heavy blow on the skull, and then opened them again and raised her head with an air of indomitable pride.



THE TEMPLE

THE FALL OF THE THRONE

The debate had occupied all of the last day, and the royal family had sat by, in an overpowering atmosphere, and witnessed the fall of the French Monarchy. That night they were taken to the Temple.

“What remains of the prison of the Temple?” asks every stranger interested in historical souvenirs, on the occasion of his first visit to Paris, and his disappointment is great on being told that nothing, absolutely nothing, has survived of this sombre dungeon where so many tragedies were enacted. It is almost incomprehensible that every vestige has disappeared of a building which held so great a place in the history of Paris. In the Rue du Temple there is to-day a small square with flower-beds and fountains: that is all that remains to mark the site.

The Temple was originally an immense quadrangle, surrounded by battlemented walls, with round towers at intervals. Thus it continued for five hundred years. Within, there was a kind of small city, with a church, a palace, a fortress, and gardens, all dominated by a high and massive tower, the “Grand Donjon.” The Templars, from whom the Quartier du Temple took its name, ruled here as masters. Henry the Third of England resided here when he came to Paris to visit Saint Louis. Later, the vast wealth of the Templars became fatal to them, and in 1313 the Order was abolished by the Pope, and their possessions were bestowed upon the Knights of Saint John. Under their rule the Temple remained much the same. Although some of the old buildings were torn down, at the time of the Revolution there still remained the hospital, the cloister, the palace, the great church, and, above all, the great dungeon, a massive square tower, with a dry moat, and round tourelles at each angle.

In 1789, the Grand Priors had long ceased to live in the tower, and had built a handsome hôtel with an entrance on the street. This building and the little garden behind it covered exactly the site of the present Square du Temple.

For over two centuries before the Revolution the posi-

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tion of Grand Prior was the richest appanage of the bastards of the royal family, but the last two nobles to hold the office were Princes of the Blood — the Prince de Conti, and the Duc d'Angoulême, the elder son of Comte d'Artois.

The hôtel of the Grand Prior was indeed a palace, and well adapted for a royal residence. In plan, it was somewhat similar to the Hôtel Soubise, now the National Archives: a long courtyard, surrounded by arcades, terminating in a semicircle at the entrance end, and closed at the other extremity by the principal front of the building. The apartments of the Grand Prior were extensive and magnificent; they looked on to the courtyard, and, on the other side, on to a deep garden planted with tall trees. At the bottom of this garden rose the enormous square donjon of the Templars, more than fifty mètres high, flanked with round towers at the corners, and crowned with battlements standing out in relief against a slate roof — a black, sinister-looking building.

The hôtel of the Temple, uninhabited since the emigration of Comte d'Artois in 1789, sheltered a few of his old servants. In a building adjoining the Tower, and forming one body with it, lived M. Berthélemy, the Keeper of the Archives of the Order. This building, of much later construction than the donjon itself, had been assigned to him in 1782, and he had made of it a comfortable and well-furnished residence of four stories. In the basement were the kitchen and the clerks' offices; above were the library and dining-room; a pretty salon with a balcony overlooking the garden, and billiard-room on the first floor; and at the top, bedrooms and other accommodations. This building was known as the Little Tower.

On Monday evening the 13 August 1792 the streets around the Temple were filled with a noisy crowd; a grave event was to take place. At seven o'clock two of the enormous royal carriages appeared from the direction of the boulevards, and entered the brilliantly lighted court

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of the Temple, of which the only gate was just opposite the present Rue des Fontaines. From the first carriage alighted the royal family, escorted by Manuel, procureur of the Commune, and Pétion, the mayor of the city. The second vehicle carried the suite of the King.

A bountiful supper was served in one of the rooms of the Prior's palace, where the King supposed they were to reside; but such was not the intention of the Commune. A proposition that the King should be interned at the Luxembourg, and another that he should live at the Ministry of Justice in the Place Vendôme, had already been voted down that day. After supper, the royal family and their suite were ordered to follow one of the commissioners, who conducted them to the Little Tower, from which the archivist had been summarily evicted. This was to be their residence until the Tower could be prepared for their reception. In the billiard-room on the first floor, two folding beds had been put up: one for the Dauphin, and the other for Madame de Tourzel. The Queen was placed in the adjoining salon, to which M. Berthélemy's bed had been carried, and her daughter slept on a camp-bed. Madame de Lamballe was lodged in a dark cabinet which separated the two rooms. The King was installed on the second floor, composed of a bedroom with an alcove which his valet had hastily prepared for him, and a kitchen where his sister Élisabeth and Pauline de Tourzel were to find what room they could.

Louis went to bed and slept quietly, while the two young girls never closed their eyes the entire night, the small cabinet which separated the kitchen from the King's bedroom having been transformed into a guard-room, where the occupants talked and laughed until dawn.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1792

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

The Executive Council — The Ministers of the 10 August — Gaspard Monge — Danton — The New Convention — Three Rival Powers — The Paris Commune — Public Feeling — The Army — Flight of La Fayette — The Criminal Tribunal — The September Massacres — Danton Intervenes — The Responsibility — Elections to the Convention — The Members — Their Origin — The Parties — Buzot — The Jacobin Leaders — Robespierre, Marat and Danton — The Convention Meets — Royalty Abolished — The Republic Proclaimed

THE Legislative Assembly, after decreeing, on the 10 August, the suspension of the King, instead of his removal which was demanded by the Sections and the Commune, left to the National Convention the task of "pronouncing upon the measures which it thought necessary to adopt to assure the sovereignty of the People and the reign of Liberty and Equality."

The throne was now vacant: the Assembly had taken possession of the executive power. They now decreed the election of an Executive Council, and added a proviso that the chief place in this Council should be given to the first deputy elected to it. The Assembly forthwith put Danton in that place. He was chosen by 222 votes out of 285, and became Minister of Justice. Then the Assembly elected Roland, to the Interior; Clavière, to the Finances; Servan, to the War Office; Monge, to the Marine; and Lebrun, to Foreign Affairs. These six ministers formed the Executive Council, each one in turn serving as President of the Council for a period of one week.

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Of the six ministers named at this time, two, Clavière and Roland, were to kill themselves; and two others, Lebrun and Danton, were to be guillotined; while Servan was destined to become a general of division under Napoleon, and Monge, a senator of the Empire and Comte de Peluse. When Napoleon, at the beginning of his reign, complained to Monge that there were still in the Empire many partisans of the Republic, he replied, "Sire, we had so much trouble in becoming Republicans, Your Majesty should be willing to give us at least a few days to become Imperialists! "

Gaspard Monge, who was to die a comte of the Empire, was the son of a tinker and peddler, and was born at Beaune in 1746. He was educated by the Oratorians of the college at Beaune, and, owing to his mathematical genius, at the age of sixteen, was appointed professor of physics at the Seminary of Lyon. In 1768, he became professor of mathematics at the college for the Royal Corps of Engineers at Mezières. During the twelve years that he held this post he made a European reputation by his development of descriptive geometry. In 1777, he married a wealthy widow; three years later he was appointed professor of hydraulics at the University of Paris, a chair which had been created especially for him, and was elected to the Academy of Sciences. In 1790 he was appointed a commissioner for drawing up the decimal system. Through the influence of Danton and Condorcet he was appointed Minister of Marine on the 10 August.

Danton was the real chief of the Council. He was the son of a wealthy procureur in Champagne, and by no means the *parvenu* he has been described as being. He was a brilliant scholar and a student of the greatest authors. He was violent and passionate, audacious rather than persevering, ambitious but not calculating, powerful as an orator, although nothing as a rhetorician. He was always sincere: everything came from the depths of his heart — pity, rage, love, philosophy. He had a great brain and a warm heart. He was a Frenchman to the very marrow of his bones, and his dream was to see his

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country united in the face of the threatening Germans. To him the Republic was a government which should mean unity and not division. Take him all in all, Danton, after Mirabeau, was perhaps the greatest power of the Revolution.

At the same time, the Assembly established universal suffrage. All Frenchmen of the age of twenty-one were to have the right to vote; but this universal suffrage was in two degrees: the primary assemblies were to send their delegates to the electoral assemblies, which were to elect the deputies to the Convention. The name given to the new National Assembly had been borrowed from the United States, where it designated the convention which framed the Constitution.

There were now three rival powers in France: the Assembly, which united the legislative and executive functions; the Executive Council, to which the Assembly had confided a kind of dictatorship; and the Commune of Paris. This latter body had been formally recognized by the Assembly; after the August elections, it was controlled by the Jacobins, that is to say, by Robespierre and his friends. In Paris the Commune was sovereign: even Vergniaud, in the Assembly, and Danton and Roland, in the Council, trembled before it. In vain did the Assembly strive to break its power. Danton, though he had but little love for the Commune, saved it, because he hoped to bring about a fusion of the two powers in the face of the common enemy.

The revolution of the 10 August did not receive the same welcome in every part of France. At Paris, the patriots were still crying for vengeance. On the night of the tenth to the eleventh of August they massacred or imprisoned all the Swiss who could be found. The mob overturned the statues of Henri Quatre, on the Pont-Neuf, of Louis Treize, in the Place Royale, and of Louis Quatorze, upon the present Place Vendôme. They effaced from the monuments the words "King" and "Royal," and cut off the crowns and the fleurs de lis.

The departments, however, were much less excited.

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Outside of the capital, where the revolutionary feeling was too energetic for their tastes, the Assembly and the Government could count upon the departments of the Southeast and upon most of those of the East. The Centre, the West and the Southwest were divided and often hostile. The region of the North, and above all the Ardennes, caused much uneasiness.

The greatest danger came from the Army. Robespierre and his friends in the Commune were afraid that La Fayette would march on Paris, and this is exactly what he intended to do. He had moved his headquarters to Sedan, and there, when he heard of the capture of the Tuileries, he held a grand review, at which he adjured his soldiers to swear fidelity to the King and to the Nation. A few of the old regiments obeyed with enthusiasm, but some of the new regiments refused the oath of fidelity to the King. On the 14 August, La Fayette arrested three deputies who had been sent on a mission to the armies. To all his generals of division, notably to Arthur Dillon, who commanded at Pont-sur-Sambre, and Dumouriez, who commanded the camp at Maulde, he sent his general order, in hope that they would join him. Dillon acquiesced, but Dumouriez openly declared his adhesion to the new régime. On the 19 August, La Fayette heard that his soldiers were threatening to bind him hand and foot and send him off to the Assembly. Realizing that he could no longer count on the fidelity of his troops, on the 20 August, accompanied by his staff, he galloped across the frontier into the Netherlands, and was immediately arrested by the Austrians. With three of his officers he was imprisoned in the citadel of Antwerp, whence he was finally transferred to Olmütz, where he remained in strict confinement until Napoleon secured his release in 1797 by the Treaty of Campo-Formio.

Many of the officers of the Northern Army were little disposed to serve the Nation without the King. Some were suspended, but others, in spite of their hostile sentiments, were allowed to remain. At the eastern frontier, Marshal

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Lückner, a friend of La Fayette, refused to take the oath to the Nation. The Executive Council replaced him by Kellermann, but the latter arranged that the marshal should be employed in the second line of defence at Châlons. As a rule, however, few of the officers were suspended except those who absolutely refused to take the oath. If the Government wished to retain their services it was necessary to be lenient. Circumstances, and the national interests, obliged the Assembly to soften the transition from the old monarchical régime to the new democratic régime.

The state of Paris remained disturbed. The overexcited patriots were still calling for vengeance. As it was not possible to send the suspects to the ordinary criminal courts for trial, on account of the attitude of the judges, a motion was made in the Assembly to create a new Criminal Tribunal.

The last week in August, when the news was received of the surrender of Longwy, and of the march of the Prussians on Verdun, the Executive Council was panic-stricken. Fearing a siege, and also the domination of the Commune, Roland, Clavière and Servan wished to flee to Blois, but Danton opposed the idea, and by his energy succeeded in keeping the Government at Paris. Reassured by the initiative and courage of the chief, the Assembly decreed for Paris a new levy of 30,000 men. The young men enrolled with enthusiasm: during the first three weeks of September, Paris furnished 20,000 volunteers.

The first day of September, there was a rumor of a conspiracy among the aristocrats confined in the prisons. The total number of prisoners was 2637, comprising priests, aristocrats, and Swiss officers and soldiers, who were mingled with criminals, and prisoners for debt and other lesser offences.

On the second of September the news was received of the investment of Verdun. The Commune gave orders to fire the alarm-cannon, to sound the tocsin, and to close the barriers. It was on this occasion that Danton made his celebrated speech in the Assembly: "The tocsin that they

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are sounding," said he, "is not a signal of alarm, it is the order to charge upon the enemies of our country. To vanquish them we must have *de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace*, and France is saved."

These events led to the "September Massacres." The feeling in the capital was: "Can we go to war and leave three thousand prisoners behind us in Paris, who may break out and destroy our wives and children?" The idea of course was preposterous; but the French people are too much inclined to cry out, "*Nous sommes trahis!*" They are always suspicious, and the popularity of Marat was due largely to the fact that he was the very genius of suspicion.

On the 30 August, the Commune removed all the members of the former Committee of Surveillance, and appointed a new committee of four members: Panis, Sergent, Duplain and Jourdeuil. These four administrators joined to their number on the second of September six other citizens, of whom Marat was the principal. It was thus that Marat entered the Committee of Surveillance of which he became the soul. It was this Committee which prepared the massacres. On the last day of August they released quite a large number of prisoners detained for debts and small offences, with the idea of separating them from the principal criminals and the counter-revolutionaries.

The massacres began at mid-day on Sunday, the second of September, when some unfortunate priests were being conveyed from the prison at the Mairie to the Abbaye. As they descended from the carriages at the Abbaye they were attacked by a mob and several of them were slain. The murderers, reënforced by a number of street ruffians, then rushed to the other end of Paris, to the convent of the Carmelites, where over one hundred priests were hunted down and slaughtered one by one.

The murderers then returned to the Abbaye. At this time a man by the name of Maillard appeared on the scene and constituted an informal tribunal of which he contrived to get himself appointed judge. Maillard had

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shown great courage, and gained much personal popularity, in the taking of the Bastille, where he was one of the chief captains. He had also been a prominent member of the mob at Versailles during the October days. This tribunal indeed caused the death of nearly two hundred prisoners, but it saved the lives in that prison alone of an even larger number.

At the Conciergerie, La Force, and the Châtelet, the massacres began late that night and continued without interruption during the following day. Among the murdered at La Force was the Princesse de Lamballe, who might have saved her life by showing some respect for the prejudices of the mob. When her turn came before the self-constituted tribunal, she was asked if she would swear devotion to Liberty and Equality, and hatred to the King and Queen. She replied: "I will take the first oath, but not the second. It is not in my heart." She was immediately condemned, and executed in the most atrocious manner possible. She was the only woman of rank who suffered. Madame de Tourzel, and every other lady of noble birth, escaped, and so might have the Princesse, if she had consented not to brave her judges.

It is unnecessary to examine more closely the acts of the tribunals of blood, which all resembled one another. During the four days from the second to the fifth of September, out of 2637 prisoners, about 1100 perished.

In the meantime, on the night of the second of September, Marat, who wished to crush the Girondins and terrorize the electors, upon his own responsibility, issued an order for the arrest of Roland, Minister of the Interior, Brissot, and several other deputies of the party. Then Danton, whom the massacres had not aroused, intervened and energetically opposed this measure. On the third of September he went to the Hôtel-de-Ville and told Robespierre and Pétion that the order for the arrest was an act of folly, and succeeded in having it revoked.

The responsibility for the September Massacres must be divided between the Commune, the Committee of Surveillance and Marat, who ordered and organized

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them, and Robespierre and Danton who allowed them to take place.

At the beginning of September, during the period of the massacres, the elections to the new National Convention took place. The electors divided their votes among the representatives of the two great patriotic parties who were contending for supreme power: the Brissotins and the Robespierristes, or in other words the Girondins and the future Montagnards.

At Paris the ticket of Marat was elected. The first name on the list was that of Robespierre, with Danton second. The Girondins elected the largest total number of deputies, but their forces were dispersed. The Montagnards, on the other hand, dominated the East and Centre, and above all Paris, the heart of the Revolution.

No marked difference of policy separated the two parties: that of the Girondins comprised the oldest Republicans, such as Brissot and Condorcet; while, among the future Montagnards, Robespierre and Danton were not at that time partisans of the Republic. The great distinction between the parties was that the chiefs of the Mountain were Parisians and members of the all-powerful Commune, while the Girondins represented only the departments.

The number of deputies to the Convention was to have been 745, the same as in the Legislative Assembly, but the membership was later increased by the tardy arrival of deputies from the colonies, and the election of representatives from the new departments, so that the final total was 903. Of this number, nearly 300 had sat in the preceding Assemblies. At the time of their election 245 deputies were lawyers and 379 were local officials of one kind or another. These two classes formed more than two-thirds of the Convention. Nearly all of the new deputies were men of experience who had already taken part in public affairs. The proportion of very young men was not maintained, and the general average of age was much higher than it had been in the Legislative Assembly.

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Among the deputies elected from Paris, besides Robespierre and Danton who have already been named, were Camille Desmoulins, Marat, David, the great painter, and lastly, as twenty-fourth deputy, under circumstances which recalled the election of Sieyès as the last deputy for the Third Estate of Paris in 1789, there was chosen the Duc d'Orléans, who now called himself Philippe-Égalité.

When the Convention met, the two points which struck observers in Paris were, first, the number of old faces to be recognized, which seemed to include everybody of note in France, and, second, that the Girondins seemed to have a very large majority. The Girondins and Jacobins, who had formed in the Legislative Assembly two sections of the Left, separated into Right and Left: the former at once took the seats on the right of the Convention, while the leading Jacobins collected on the upper benches on the extreme left—a lofty position which gave them the title of the Mountain party. But greater than in any previous Assembly was the mass of deputies who sat in the centre, or, as it was called, the Marsh or the Plain. It was these “Frogs of the Marsh” whom the Girondins hoped to win by their eloquence, and the Jacobins to terrify by bloodshed. The leading member of this Centre group during the opening days of the Convention was Barère, who was later to become celebrated as the spokesman of the great Committee of Public Safety. He had sat in the Constituent Assembly, and was now returned by his department as first deputy to the Convention. He was a ready speaker, and speedily became the mouthpiece of the large Centre group.

With the members of the Marsh there also sat the Abbés Grégoire and Sieyès, both of whom had been prominent in the National Assembly. The Centre group was largely recruited by men who had sat in neither of the former Assemblies, such as Cambacérès, the future chancellor of Napoleon, and Barras, the coming director.

All the leading Girondins of the Legislative Assembly had been returned to the Convention. Guadet and Gensonné, Vergniaud and Ducos, again represented the de-

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partment of the Gironde. Brissot was also elected, and Condorcet sat by his side. With the Girondins also sat the ex-Constituent Buzot.

Buzot was the son of a judge of the Parlement of Rouen. When a young man of twenty-eight he had been elected to the States-General for Évreux, because he had married a cousin of Barentin, the Keeper of the Seals in Necker's administration. After the close of the Constituent Assembly he had remained in Paris, and had become a frequenter of the salon of Madame Roland. He fell violently in love with the enthusiastic Manon, and deserted his own wife. Madame Roland lavished on Buzot all of her affections, and he became the lion of her salon.

On the left of the Assembly sat the Jacobins: "those men who were to make Europe tremble by their reckless audacity in war and their ruthless cruelty at home; the men who were to see France safely through the troubles of a European war and establish the Republic on a firm footing." The three chief members of this party, whose names have occurred frequently in the early history of the Revolution, were Robespierre, Marat, and Danton.

Maximilien Robespierre was born at Arras in 1758. He was educated at the Collège Louis-le-Grand at Paris; and then returned to Artois where he began the practice of law. In 1789 he was elected to the States-General from his native province. In the Assembly he spoke frequently, and soon overcame the defects of a shrill voice, small stature, pale nervous face, and twitching eyes, partly concealed behind green glasses. He was the author of the unwise motion to exclude members of the Constituent from the Legislative Assembly. Though a demagogue, he was not a man of action, and remained quiet during the scenes of the 20 June and the 10 August. In the Convention he was to become the recognized head of the Montagnards. Of the three chief leaders of the Convention, none had a more sincere hatred of anarchy or a greater love for liberty than Robespierre. He believed in a strong, centralized government, with powerful engines for creat-

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ing the "Terror," which he thought was necessary to put an end to the anarchy all over France.

Resembling Robespierre in many respects, but in others very unlike him, was Jean-Paul Marat. He was born near Neufchâtel, Switzerland, in 1742. His father, a physician of ability, who spelt his name Mara, was exiled from his native island of Sardinia for abandoning the Roman Catholic religion; he took up his residence in Switzerland and married a Protestant. Jean-Paul studied medicine at Bordeaux, and then settled at Paris. Later he went to London, where he built up a large practice, which he only abandoned to accept an appointment at the French Court. But the Jean-Paul Marat who took his seat on the benches of the Convention was a very different man from the Doctor Marat, possessed of a good fortune, the Court physician and friend of great ladies, who had entered the States-General. The former sprucely attired physician could hardly be recognized in this man in slovenly dress with a frame racked by a terrible disease. By nature suspicious and gloomy, with failing health he had become even more sombre both in his feelings and in his expressions, and to suspicion had now been added a desire for revenge. He shared Robespierre's longing for the overthrow of anarchy and also believed that it could only be accomplished by a strong executive. But he allowed his thirst for revenge to overcome his statesmanlike instincts. He worked with as much ardor as Robespierre for the overthrow of the Girondins, but he demanded their deaths, not their removal from power. Revenge was now the guiding principle of his life.

But the greatest practical statesman of the Convention was Georges-Jacques Danton. He was born in 1759 at Arcis-sur-Aube in Champagne. He was educated at Troyes, and at the age of twenty-one came to Paris, and purchased the office of procureur to the Parlement. Though fond of pleasure he worked hard and built up a good practice. In 1787 he married the daughter of a wealthy bourgeois, and with her dowry, and the money he had saved and inherited, bought for 78,000 livres the

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office of an "avocat aux conseils du Roi." In the primary elections of 1789 Danton played an important part in the assembly of the district of the Cordeliers, and at that time established the well-known club of the Cordeliers, which became the headquarters of the extreme revolutionists of the south side of the city of Paris, and eventually of the whole of France. The greatest blot on his name was his indifference during the September Massacres, which his power could have stopped at once. The excuse of his apologists is that he regarded these massacres as an advantage to France, and believed that they cleared a way for a new and more energetic government. He shared with Robespierre and Marat their longing to establish a strong executive government, and thus ensure the success of France in war, and peace and good order at home. But he was quite free from the idealism of Robespierre and the thirst for vengeance which distinguished Marat.

On Thursday the 20 September 1792, about five-thirty in the afternoon, the deputies to the National Convention then present at Paris came together for the first time at the Tuileries. They assembled in the private theatre of the palace, which, after the 10 May following, was to become the permanent home of the Convention. After having verified their powers, the deputies named their officers. The president was Pétion, and his choice seemed to mark a desire for union between Paris and the provinces. The handsome, naïf, and vain Jérôme Pétion was on the 10 August the popular mayor of Paris, but he had been elected deputy at Chartres, where he was born, and whence he had already been sent to the States-General. This first session, which was not public, was adjourned at a late hour. At noon on the following day the Legislative Assembly was meeting as usual in the Manège, when a dozen commissioners sent by the Convention, which was again in session at the Tuileries, came to inform the Assembly that the Convention was ready to take possession of the hall. The president of the Legislative

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Assembly then declared the meeting adjourned, and, followed by his colleagues, proceeded to the Tuileries, where he presented to the new representatives of the nation the homage of his respect and confidence. Then the members of the two assemblies left the Tuileries for the Manège, to which they marched two by two. The Convention which was thus inaugurated was to continue in office until Monday the 26 October 1795.

At the very first meeting in the Manège a deputy moved that royalty should be abolished in France, and the following day a motion was made that "from the 22 September 1792 we shall date from the Year One of the Republic." The decrees were voted unanimously, and the establishment of the French Republic, one and indivisible, was thus proclaimed.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1792

THE INVASION OF FRANCE

War Declared on Austria — State of the Army — First Defeats — Isolation of France — Coronation of the Emperor — Plans of the Allies — Brunswick's Proclamation — The French Army — The Old Royal Forces — The Maison du Roi — The Proprietary Regiments — The Troops of the Line — The Future Generals — Results of the Emigration — Organization of the Republican Army — The Foreign Armies — The Invasion — Capture of Verdun — The Argonne — Defence of the Defiles — The March to Grandpré — Retreat to Sainte-Menehould — Battle of Valmy — Retreat of the Invaders — The French Offensive — Battle of Jemmapes — Invasion of Germany — Annexation of Savoie — Summary of the Year's Operations

AS already noted, the retirement of Narbonne as Minister of War, on the 9 March 1792, had been followed within a week by the resignation of the other ministers, with one exception. In the "Great Ministry," appointed on the 23 March, Dumouriez was given the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, and Roland that of the Home Office, or Minister of the Interior. Grave, who had succeeded Narbonne in the War Office, kept his portfolio until he was replaced by Servan, a close friend of the Rolands.

On the tenth of March, news had been received at Paris of the sudden death of the Emperor Leopold, on the first of March at Vienna. His son, Francis the Second, the new sovereign of Austria and Hungary, immediately sent an ambassador to the King of Prussia, to draw closer the alliance concluded by Leopold on the seventh of February. A sovereign averse to war had been succeeded by a bellicose prince.

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It was part of the hereditary policy of the Bourbons, in which Dumouriez believed, that the whole of Flanders should belong to France. Louis the Fourteenth had annexed the wealthy province known as French Flanders, and Dumouriez thought it would be easy to acquire the rest. He had been sent on a secret mission to Belgium in 1790, and he was sure that at the advance of the French armies the people of Belgium would receive them with open arms.

Soon after entering the ministry, Dumouriez sent a very arrogant ultimatum to Vienna. Counting on a refusal, he immediately dispatched Maret to Belgium to stir up discontent among the Belgians, and to tell them that the French were coming to their assistance. Vienna, sure of the support of Prussia, returned a very stiff reply, which was received at Paris on the 18 April. The Ministry decided to call on the Assembly to declare war on the "Tyrant of Vienna," and, on the twentieth, the decree was passed.

In the existing state of the Army, this was a very rash procedure. Over two-thirds of the officers of the old army had emigrated. Among the rank and file indiscipline was notorious. The men looked on their officers as traitors and wanted to kill them. At several places on the eastern frontier there were regular mutinies. Even with the reinforcement of the new volunteers, the army was very weak; there were only one hundred and fifty thousand men in all. The commanding officers at that time were Rochambeau, La Fayette and Lückner. The latter was an elderly German soldier of fortune, a fair officer, but quite incapable of leadership. La Fayette, in spite of his great American reputation, was far more of a politician than a soldier. Rochambeau, though growing old, was really a good commander, but he could not get on with Dumouriez. The leaders had no confidence in their men, the men had none in their leaders. The fortresses were in bad repair, notwithstanding the report of Narbonne; and no supplies or ammunition had been collected. Nothing was ready for war.

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It was on the basis of his belief that the Belgians were prepared to rise, that Dumouriez arranged his plan of campaign. He directed Lückner to remain quietly at his headquarters at Strasbourg, and await events. La Fayette, with 10,000 men of the Army of the Centre, was ordered to advance on Namur, and was thence to move on Brussels or Liège. He was to be supported by the Army of the North commanded by Rochambeau: one division under General Biron, 10,000 strong, was to advance upon Mons, and another under General Théobald Dillon, 4000 strong, was to make a demonstration against Tournai. As there were only 30,000 Austrian soldiers in Belgium, Dumouriez counted on an easy success. But he had not taken into consideration the utter disorganization of the French Army.

On the last day of April, rumors of defeats reached Paris, but the reality was even worse than the reports. On the 28 April, Dillon and Biron, according to plan, had endeavored to cross the Belgian frontier. When Dillon's troops, who were marching from Lille upon Tournai, came in sight of the Austrians, they were seized with a sudden panic, and fled with cries of "Sauve qui peut!" Dillon, who tried to arrest the panic, was cut down by his own men. The same day, Biron had advanced on Mons, but his troops also beat a retreat at the first sight of the enemy.

Nevertheless, these first reverses were really the salvation of France. The Austrians, elated at their easy success, thought they could take their own time for the invasion of France, and the delays gave La Fayette and Lückner time to raise the *moral* of their men.

At the beginning of the war, Dumouriez had hoped to detach Prussia from Austria, but his negotiations had failed. Frederick William had always been in favor of war, and he was bound to the Emperor by the treaty of the seventh of February. Dumouriez next turned to England, where Talleyrand had already been sent upon a diplomatic mission, which was a failure. Pitt was determined to preserve a strict neutrality, and refused to

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conclude a treaty of alliance with France. Thus failed the diplomacy of the Girondins, who had hoped to oppose the autocratic Powers with a league of free nations — France, England, and the United States of America. France was therefore left to fight alone against Austria, Prussia, and in fact all of Germany.

On the 14 July 1792, the city of Frankfort was crowded with the princes of Germany, who had assembled for the coronation of the last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. With all the old forms which had come down from the Middle Ages, Francis was solemnly crowned. From Frankfort the young Emperor proceeded to join Frederick William, King of Prussia, at Mayence, where a series of important conferences were held from the 18 to the 20 of July. But they could reach no conclusion, as to the division of the spoils, and it was decided that the war should begin without any definite arrangement.

Of more importance were the military plans agreed upon. Frederick William insisted that the whole Prussian army should be kept together to invade France by the route of Longwy. The Prussians were to be supported on their left by 20,000 Austrians and 8,000 Émigrés, who were to besiege Metz. On the Meuse, the Prussians were to be joined by an Austrian corps, under General Clerfayt, and then the two armies together were to march on Paris. Just prior to ordering the advance, the Duke of Brunswick issued his famous proclamation, the effects of which at Paris were to be so terrible.

This document is too long to quote in full, but the most important clause was the Eighth Article, which is said to have been inspired by Marie-Antoinette herself:

“The town of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction shall be bound to submit on the spot, and without any delay, to the King; to give that Prince full and entire liberty, and to insure to him and all the Royal Family that inviolability and respect to which the laws of nature and of nations entitle sovereigns from their sub-

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jects. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties render personally responsible for anything that may happen, under peril of their heads, and of military execution without hope of pardon, all members of the National Assembly, the Municipality, the National Guards, the Justices of the Peace, and all others whom it may concern. Their aforesaid Majesties declare, moreover, on their word and honor as Emperor and King, that if the Palace of the Tuileries be insulted or forced, that if the least violence, the least assault, be perpetrated against their Majesties, the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, and if steps be not at once taken for their safety, preservation, and liberty, they, their Imperial and Royal Majesties, will take an exemplary and never-to-be-forgotten vengeance by giving up the town of Paris to military execution and to total subversion, and the guilty rebels to the death they have deserved. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties promise, on the contrary, to the inhabitants of Paris to use their good offices with his Most Christian Majesty to obtain pardon for their faults and errors, and to take the most vigorous measures to insure their persons and goods if they promptly and exactly obey the above commands."

The French army which was to oppose this invasion was composed of the former Royal army, which formed the nucleus; of the volunteers; and finally of the veterans and the *corps francs*.

Before the Revolution, the old Royal army was divided into three broad categories: the household troops, the proprietary regiments, and the ordinary regiments of the line.

The Maison du Roi, or household troops, was a magnificent body of men, well paid and splendidly equipped, which in former days had done good service in the field. Louis the Sixteenth, who had none of the love of display which characterized his two immediate predecessors, had allowed his reforming ministers, Saint-Germain and Brienne, to suppress four of the corps. There remained,

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after these sweeping reforms, only the Gardes du Corps, or body-guards of the King, who had to do duty in the palace and defend the person of the King. They were 1300 in number, and every private had to prove sixteen quarters of nobility, while the officers were chosen from the most famous French families. The privates ranked as lieutenants in the army and all the officers as generals.

Quite distinct from this corps of gentlemen, though included among the household troops, were the two regiments of the Gardes Françaises and the Gardes Suisses. The former had their barracks in Paris, and only sent a detachment to mount guard outside the palace walls of Versailles. Their chief duty was to maintain order in Paris, as there was no regular police at that time. The Gardes Suisses had their barracks at Rueil and Courbevoie, and they too only deserve the title of household troops because they sent a detachment to mount guard at Versailles. The privates and officers were all of Swiss birth.

Next to the household troops in trustworthiness and efficiency were the twenty-seven proprietary regiments. These regiments had their origin during the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, when, after the fall of James the Second, a number of loyal Stuarts entered the service of France. These foreign regiments were generally owned by the colonels, who bequeathed them as personal property. Some of the proprietary regiments, however, belonged to foreign monarchs, who appointed the officers. One of the chief regiments belonging to foreign princes, was the Royal-Suédois, of which the Comte de Fersen was colonel.

However, the Maison du Roi and the proprietary regiments formed only a small portion of the French army: most of the infantry and cavalry and the whole of the artillery were under the direct control of the War Office. In 1789, the infantry, on a peace footing, was estimated at about 138,000 men. There were twenty-three foreign regiments, made up of Germans, Poles, Swedes, Danes and so on, and seventy-nine French regiments, which

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formed the real bulk of the infantry of the French army. Before the Revolution, most of these regiments bore special names which showed their local origin, such as the Royal-Auvergne. These French regiments were entirely kept up by voluntary enlistment. Many of the soldiers were recruited from the dregs of the population, but among them were many men of a higher grade in society, whom the love of military life had drawn into the ranks: such were Moncey and Bernadotte, the future marshals of France, who were the sons of lawyers, and who had run away from their studies to enlist in the army.

The artillery and the engineers were made up of a much better class of the people. Their pay was higher, and advancement depended more upon merit than upon family influence. Among the artillery officers and engineers who afterwards gained great fame, besides Napoleon, may be mentioned Pichegru, who attained distinction under the Republic; Victor and Joubert, and the great Carnot.

While the sentiment of the infantry and the artillery was generally in favor of the Revolution, the cavalry showed exactly the opposite spirit. It is a peculiar fact, which it is difficult to explain, that cavalry soldiers at all times and in all countries have been attached to monarchy rather than to the cause of the people. In 1789 the French cavalry consisted of twenty-six regiments, nearly all heavy cavalry, and amounted in all to about 26,000 men.

In addition to the regular French army, which was recruited by voluntary enlistment, there was a militia of about 50,000 men, which was recruited by conscription in the country districts.

In connection with this examination of the state of the French army prior to the Revolution, it is interesting to note how many of the future great generals of the Republic and of the Empire had served in the army of the Old Régime. Napoleon himself had entered the army in 1785 as a second-lieutenant in the artillery regiment of La Fère; Dumouriez was *maréchal de camp*, a grade

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corresponding to that of major-general in our army; Pichegru, the former instructor of Napoleon at Brienne, was adjudant-sous-officier, the highest rank a non-commissioned officer could reach; and Hoche was a sergeant in the Gardes Françaises. Of all the great Revolutionary generals, Moreau alone was not in the army.

Of the twenty-six marshals of France appointed by Napoleon, eighteen had served in the Royal army, eight as officers and ten in the ranks. The former officers were Kellermann, Berthier, Sérurier, Pérignon, Macdonald, Davout, Marmont and Moncey. The ten marshals of Napoleon who rose from the ranks of the ancient army included the very greatest of his generals and two kings: Augereau, Jourdan, Masséna, Oudinot, Victor, Lefebvre, Soult, Ney, Bernadotte and Murat. The only important generals, always with the exception of Moreau, who did not receive their military education in the old Royal army, were Laharpe and Kléber, who had held commissions in the Swiss and Austrian armies respectively; and such young men as Suchet, Lannes and Bessières, who were not of age when the Revolution broke out.

The old Royal army had been almost completely disorganized by indiscipline and revolt. Many of the officers had resigned. During the ten weeks following the acceptance of the Constitution by the King, from the middle of September to the first of December 1791, over 2000 officers emigrated. During the ten weeks following the declaration of war in April 1792, there was a new exodus: 398 officers of infantry and 144 of cavalry left. In the infantry there was a shortage of nearly three thousand officers, or about a third of the effective. The proportion of émigrés was less among the engineers and the artillerymen.

The emigration gave a large number of junior officers an unexpected advancement. Among these were many sons of the people, such as Ney, Pichegru, Hoche, Lefebvre, and Napoleon himself. Among the general officers, the emigration also brought about many promotions. Several *maréchaux de camp*, deputies to the Constituent,

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such as Biron, Menou, Custine and Montesquiou, became generals at the end of this Assembly. There was a second promotion in January 1792, which took in Kellermann, and Dumouriez, who, after the flight of La Fayette, received the chief command of the Army of the North. The generals of the *Ancien Régime* disappeared: Rochambeau, La Fayette, Lückner, brave officers, but habituated to old methods, incapable of making war with "l'audace" which Danton demanded and which the circumstances required.

In the autumn of 1792, the infantry and cavalry counted only 82,000 men, in place of the 300,000 which had been hoped for as the result of the appeal for volunteers. The officers and soldiers were not well instructed, and were much more undisciplined than the Prussian army.

On the other hand, the artillery was the best in Europe. It was well armed and equipped, and the officers were of the first order. The engineers also possessed a first-class personnel. The service of supplies was excellent. The fortresses on the frontier, Longwy, Sedan, Verdun, were well provisioned.

The army of the line was reënforced by the national volunteers. The levy of 1791 had given 169 battalions of infantry, but only about one-half of them were armed and equipped.

The heads of the War Office, Narbonne and his successors, had demanded of the Assembly that the volunteers should be incorporated in the troops of the line to fill up the ranks, but the Assembly refused. The deputies feared that the men would become attached to their chiefs, whose ambition they dreaded; and they did not wish to impose upon the volunteers a discipline which they thought might weaken their patriotism.

The Prussian army which was to invade France was composed of 42,000 men. The army retained the organization which had been given to it by Frederick the Great. It was not a national army like the French, which for the

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most part was recruited from the people, but was composed largely of foreigners, deserters, and the scum of the people. The strength of the Prussian army was in the infantry and cavalry, which were excellent in their personnel and their equipment. The artillery, the engineers, and the service of supplies, on the contrary, were very inferior to the French. The cannon were mediocre; the strong places badly fortified; the personnel, ignorant.

The Austrian army, of 45,000 men, was made up of the corps of Hohenlohe, Clerfayt, and the Duke of Saxe-Teschen.

Finally, there were 4500 French émigrés, who followed the Prussians. They formed an undisciplined cohort, of no military value, followed by a numerous train of wives, children, mistresses, and domestics; they were detested by all the Prussian officers.

The middle of July, Brunswick crossed the Rhine with the main column, and about two weeks later he passed the French frontier. On the 20 August he drove the French Central Army back on Metz. Although it is only 110 miles from Coblenz to Metz, he took more than a month to traverse that distance.

About the same time, Clerfayt laid siege to Montmédy, and then advanced, as a right wing to the main army, through Stenay to the Meuse, and from there to the Argonne.

At the end of the month of August, the French army, along the northern and eastern frontiers, comprised 82,000 men, stationed as follows: under the command of Biron, in Alsace; of Custine, at Wissembourg; of Lückner, soon to be replaced by Kellermann, at Metz; and at Sedan, under Dumouriez, who commanded in chief; with garrisons in the camps at Pont-sur-Sambre, Maubeuge, Maulde, Lille and other places, all under the orders of Dumouriez. After leaving the necessary troops in these camps, the French could dispose of 50,000 men.

The march of the Prussians had been very difficult, and the army was already worn with fatigue when it

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entered France. A fine and cold rain fell continuously, and both officers and men had no cloaks.

The Prussians first besieged Longwy, which was defended by only 2600 men. The place was bombarded on the 22 August and surrendered the following day. This easy success encouraged the Prussians: they already thought they had only to make a military promenade.

On the 29 August, the Prussians arrived before Verdun. The place was defended by a garrison of 4500 men, the majority of whom were volunteers. The city was patriotic, but there were many Royalists who were hostile to the Revolution. The bombardment began on the 31 August, at eleven o'clock in the evening, and continued all night. Brunswick then summoned the city to surrender and accorded twenty-four hours for a reply. The municipal officers insisted upon capitulation, which the officers of the army opposed. On the morning of the second of September, the French commander, Beaurepaire, was found dead at the Hôtel-de-Ville. It is not known whether he was assassinated or committed suicide. The city then capitulated, the garrison being allowed to go out with the honors of war.

The Allies, who occupied the valley of the Meuse, Brunswick at Verdun and Clerfayt at Stenay, were now posted between Dumouriez and Kellermann, and were able at will to turn on either of these weaker armies and defeat them in detail and then march on Paris. At this critical moment, Dumouriez decided upon a very daring manœuvre, namely, to leave Sedan, where he was no longer in safety, and to march on Grandpré, in order to put the Argonne between himself and the enemy.

The Argonne is a densely wooded country, about thirteen leagues long and from one to four leagues wide, which stretches from Sedan to Sainte-Menehould, between the rivers Aire and Aisne. It is cut up by ravines, and, without having any elevations greater than 200 yards, is very difficult for an armed force to escalate. The forest is traversed by five defiles, but they are easy to fortify and defend.

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The force of Dumouriez consisted of 18,000 infantry, about half regiments of the line, and the balance National Guards; a cavalry of 5000 men, drawn from the best regiments; and an excellent artillery of sixty pieces. It was impossible with his slender forces to guard all the defiles of the Argonne.

Dumouriez left Sedan on the first of September and took the shortest route for Grandpré, where he arrived three days later. On the 13 September he learned that the defile of Croix-aux-Bois, which was not strongly defended, had been taken the previous day by the Austrians under Clerfayt. Menaced by this turning movement of the enemy to the north, Dumouriez then decided to withdraw to Sainte-Menehould upon the route to Châlons, and to summon all his lieutenants to join him there by forced marches.

When Dumouriez had assembled his main body at Sainte-Menehould, only a few weak detached forces remained at Valenciennes and Maubeuge, facing the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, and another weak group at Metz: the remainder were drawn in towards Châlons to reënforce the main army.

After the surrender of Verdun, on the second of September, Brunswick advanced slowly towards Sainte-Menehould. The distance by the circuitous route taken was about fifty miles. He directed his main body on Vouziers, to reënforce Clerfayt, with the idea of enveloping the French left wing, and sent only a part of his forces forward from Clermont to make a demonstration against Sainte-Menehould.

As above stated, on the 12 September Clerfayt dispersed the French posts at Croix-aux-Bois, and four days later Brunswick emerged from Grandpré, making in a southerly direction for Châlons, where he expected to find the French army. In the meantime, Dumouriez had been reënforced by portions of the Northern Army, and also some of the Central Army under Kellermann.

Under orders from Dumouriez, Kellermann, on his arrival, occupied the plateau of Valmy, the spur of the

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mountain chain running out into the Champagne country, and so cut the Prussians off from the road to Paris. On that small plateau, on the 20 September, Kellermann deployed his little army under a drizzling rain, just opposite the elevation on which the Prussian batteries were established.

The *terrain* upon which the battle of Valmy was fought was known to the Romans as the "Catalaunian Fields," from its capital city, the modern town of Châlons-sur-Marne. The French to-day call it the "Champagne pouilleuse." The plain is a barren waste: the soil is of a chalky, clayey nature, and supports little or no vegetation. The shallow streams are turbid, and the water is not fit to drink.

An observer, standing on the edge of this inhospitable land, and looking directly eastward towards Germany, and the roads by which so many invasions have come, will perceive, running black and distinct along the horizon, a low ridge, apparently not more than three hundred feet in height, which bounds the plain. This wooded range of hills is the celebrated Argonne.

This ridge, barring the principal approach to France from Germany, traversed by the main highway to Paris, and pierced by several other minor routes, was held by Dumouriez and his nondescript forces.

At first thought, it may seem strange that a low ridge of this kind could prove a serious obstacle to the advance of the enemy, but the explanation is that armies are tied to roads: they depend for their very existence and their offensive power upon their supply trains of food and ammunition. Such a barrier as the Argonne, with its dense growth of woods and underbrush, was therefore as great an obstacle as an equally broad body of water. To hold the passes, therefore, had been the only hope of the French. Knowing that his position was turned, Dumouriez now stood at bay, with his back to Germany, his face to Paris.

The field of battle was not unlike that of Waterloo — a shallow, concave dip, less than a mile wide, separating

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the crest upon which the Allies were drawn up, from the similar plateau opposite, which was held by the French. The troops of Kellermann, on the left, faced the Prussians, while a mile or so to the north, the right, commanded by Dumouriez in person, was opposite the Austrians.

When the dense fog, which had lasted all the morning, lifted, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the Prussians with astonishment saw the French army drawn up in a very strong position. Brunswick hesitated to order his infantry to attack. He directed the artillery to open fire, but the French did not seem to be affected by the discharge of his heavy guns, and he finally ordered the infantry to charge. The Prussians were received with a hail of shots from the French batteries, and fell back in disorder. They were overwhelmed with astonishment. Was it possible that these "tailors and cobblers" could aim and fire accurately?

But the charge, though halted for a moment, was not repulsed, and the companies soon resumed their advance. Fifteen minutes later, when within a few hundred yards of the French line, an unexpected thing occurred. The progress of the columns became slower and slower, and finally stopped short. Then the famous Prussian infantry was seen to turn and slowly retire. The assault had failed. What had happened? History is silent on the subject, and for over a century the failure of the Prussian charge has seemed inexplicable. But the riddle appears to have been solved by a recent writer, Mr. Belloc, who says that the fiasco was due to nothing more mysterious than mud! On an autumn day, after a heavy and continuous fall of rain, this chalky, clayey soil becomes practically impassable, and entirely so to men under fire. The French had before them, although they were not aware of the fact, an obstacle that the valor of the Prussians could not overcome, and which robbed them of the victory. The peculiar nature of the ground separating the two lines had decided the fate of the battle, and the destiny of Europe for a quarter of a century. The mud of the

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Champagne pouilleuse was as fatal to the Prussian grenadiers as was twenty-three years later the sunken road at Waterloo to the cuirassiers of the Old Guard of Napoleon.

By this time, the rain was once more coming down in torrents; so Brunswick suggested to the King that fighting should cease, and Frederick William gladly gave his consent. It was at least a great moral victory for the French, and to it Kellermann owed his appointment as Marshal of France, and his title of Duc de Valmy.

On the 21 September, the French expected a new battle, but the Prussians, extremely fatigued, much reduced by sickness, and surprised at the unexpected resistance of the French, were already disposed to retreat. A convention was signed between Dumouriez and Brunswick, and the Prussians took the route to the Rhine. Dumouriez with his army followed slowly and allowed the Prussians to recross the frontier without molestation. He was undoubtedly wise to permit the enemy to retreat undisturbed, but of course his action was at once construed into treachery by his foes at Paris. On hearing of the accusations brought against him, Dumouriez suddenly returned to the capital, and appeared at the bar of the Convention on the 12 October—an appearance very similar to the sudden visit of La Fayette in the month of June.

Four days after his arrival at Paris, Dumouriez was present at a splendid fête given by Madame Talma at her house in the Rue Chantierine, the future home of Joséphine. During the evening he had a very unpleasant encounter with Marat, who sternly remarked that the people had their eyes on him and that he himself would watch him. This episode threw a gloom over the whole evening, and Dumouriez decided to leave Paris for his headquarters on the following day.

At the same time that Brunswick began his advance from the Rhine, Saxe-Teschen had crossed the northern

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frontier, and invested the great city of Lille. The town was full of republican enthusiasm and made a very strong defence.

As soon as Dumouriez returned to his headquarters, he decided to undertake once more the invasion of Belgium. The Northern Army had been reënforced to a total of 80,000 men. With his main body of 40,000 troops, Dumouriez marched rapidly on Lille.

On hearing of the French advance, Saxe-Teschen raised the siege of Lille and fell back across the frontier. Towards the end of October, little thinking of being attacked, he stood with his forces scattered over a broad front of 200 miles. He himself, with his main body of only 15,000 men and fifty-four guns, was entrenched near Mons, on the highroad to Brussels.

On the fifth of November, Dumouriez took up a position parallel to his line. In an enveloping movement at Jemmapes on the following day, Dumouriez drove the Duke out of his entrenchments. The French attack was led by a division under the command of General Égalité, the eldest son of the Duc d'Orléans, who was later to be known as Louis-Philippe, King of the French. The victory was decisive, the Austrian losses amounting to 7000 men, while the French losses were barely 4000. The Austrians retired slowly in the direction of Cologne, where they could be supported by the Prussians. Mons capitulated the next day without firing a shot, and on the 16 November Dumouriez entered Brussels. Antwerp capitulated immediately afterwards. The result of the battle of Jemmapes was thus the occupation of the whole of Belgium.

In July 1792, General Biron had succeeded Marshal Lückner in command of the Army of the Rhine, and he appointed General Custine as his second in command. Both Biron and Custine were nobles, and officers of the *Ancien Régime*, who had served in America; and they had both sat in the Constituent Assembly. Biron was then known by his title of Duc de Lauzun, and Custine bore

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the title of comte. The famous Hussars of Lauzun, before the Revolution, were considered the finest cavalry regiment in the service.

Custine was a man of much ambition and a great deal of enterprise. He formed a plan for an invasion of Germany, and when his ideas became known at Paris, Servan, the Minister of War, sent orders to Biron to allow his subordinate to make an advance across the Rhine, with a force which was to be called the Army of the Vosges. Custine's invasion was successful beyond all anticipations. The German princes, whose territory he entered, were unable to make any resistance. The old episcopal city of Spire surrendered on the 23 September and Worms on the following day. War indemnities of six hundred and twelve hundred thousand francs, respectively, were levied on the two places.

Custine next advanced on Mayence and Frankfort, which surrendered without striking a blow.

Equally successful were the operations of General Montesquiou and General Anselme, who were in command of two armies of observation in Franche-Comté and Provence. Montesquiou crossed the Italian frontier into Savoie, which threw off its allegiance to Piedmont and was organized into the new department of Mont-Blanc, as the eighty-fourth department of France.

General Anselme had among his troops a battalion of volunteers from the Var, which had elected for its chief André Masséna, the future marshal of France. Masséna had served for fourteen years in the French army and had then retired, on finding that he could get no further promotion. In 1792 he again left his native city of Nice and enlisted among the volunteers of the Var. He told General Anselme that he believed he could lead him into Nice without striking a blow. Anselme gave him the command of a brigade, with which Masséna entered Nice, after having made a secret arrangement for the opening of the gates of the city by his friends within. The services of Masséna were recognized by his rapid

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promotion, first to the rank of general of brigade, and then, in December 1792, to that of general of division.

To sum up briefly: at the close of the year the Allies had lost Mayence and the Austrian Netherlands, and the French had occupied Savoie and Nice, which had been incorporated in the French Republic.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1793

THE DEATH OF THE KING

The King in the Temple — His Quarters There — Dismissal of His Suite — His Mode of Life — Fate of Madame de Lamballe — Louis Separated from His Family — Grief of the Queen — The King's Trial — Public Apathy — The Three Questions — Suspension of the Sentence Rejected — Eve of the Execution — Agony of the Queen — The Execution of the King — Historic Quarters of Paris — The Guillotine — The Place of Execution — Character of Louis the Sixteenth

THE apartment of the archivist in the small tower of the Temple, where the royal family was first installed, was far from being a gloomy abode, although not so elegant as the palace, where the King had expected to reside. Most of the rooms were well decorated and furnished; on each floor was a wardrobe; and adjoining the King's room was a bath-room with mirrors and seats — a real boudoir. But Louis soon learned that this was only a temporary arrangement, until the Great Tower could be prepared for his reception. Everything there remained to be done, the four floors being entirely bare, with the exception of one which housed the voluminous archives of the Order of Malta. On each story there was a large undivided room, with an arched Gothic ceiling springing from a massive central pillar; on each side, two windows at the end of a large interior embrasure in the thick walls; and in three of the corners, small circular cabinets lighted by narrow loopholes. The fourth turret contained the winding stone staircase leading to the top of the tower and forming the principal means of communication between the floors.

So many false statements have been made about the

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imprisonment of the royal family in the Temple that it may be well to point out some of the exaggerations of the Royalist writers. The family had arrived at the Temple destitute of everything, but on the 12 August the Legislative Assembly had voted that a sum of 500,000 livres be granted the King for his household expenses until the day on which the National Convention met. Tradesmen immediately flocked to the place, and lavish orders were placed by the King and Queen for clothing of every kind and toilet accessories. The Queen received a gold watch, supplied by Breguet at a cost of 960 livres. Thirty dress-makers, milliners, sempstresses and embroiderers worked incessantly. The accounts rendered, says a writer, evoke less the idea of detention which was never to end than that of a fashionable lady reduced to spending a season in isolation and who means to give up not a single one of her habits of luxury. During two months these purchases never ceased. In the accounts we find orders for household furniture, toys for the Dauphin, and books for Louis and his sister. There was nothing democratic about the prices of the articles ordered: everything was of the finest quality. Silk stockings for the King cost 24 livres, corsets for the Queen as high as 148 livres, and a small tortoise-shell knife for the Dauphin 160 livres.

At first the prisoners were allowed a great deal of liberty. Their meals were served in the central salon of the hôtel of the Grand Prior; and then, if the weather was fine, they walked in the garden.

In the early days of his detention the King had asked for "a man and woman to do the rough work," and on the 19 August Pétion sent the required help. The man was Tison, formerly a clerk at the toll-houses, and fifty-seven years old; the woman was his wife, one year younger. The couple were allowed a salary of 9000 livres, and they were attached more particularly to the service of the ladies of the royal family. Aside from the two valets of the King and the Dauphin, there was a kitchen-staff of thirteen persons: a chef, four assistants, three waiters, and so on.

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On the 19 August an order was issued from the Commune to send away from the Temple "all the persons who were not members of the Capet family." This was a new subject of grief. The Princesse de Lamballe and Madame de Tourzel were conducted to the prison of La Force, and the separation from her friends was very painful to the Queen. In saying adieu to them Marie-Antoinette particularly enjoined upon Madame de Tourzel to look after the Princesse, whose feebleness, and simplicity of mind, she well knew. The three lady's maids left at the same time, and of the former personal servants there remained only Hue, the valet de chambre of the King, and Cléry, the attendant of the Dauphin.

The fate of the Princesse gravely preoccupied the Queen. Knowing that her friend was entirely destitute, she managed to send her some clothing and toilet articles. On the third of September, the second day of the September Massacres, a frightful noise was heard under the walls of the Temple: a mob of people was beating at the gate and trying to penetrate the enclosure. A group of men soon entered the interior court and appeared under the windows of the Queen, who was playing a game of backgammon with her husband. The mob cried loudly for "Antoinette," and the Queen went to the window. She immediately fainted away at the sight of the head of Madame de Lamballe, which was carried on the end of a pike.

The Queen had hardly recovered from this horrible shock when she received very bad news. On the 21 September, the Convention, which had replaced the Legislative Assembly, abolished royalty. Eight days later it was announced that the King was to be separated from his family and confined in the large tower of the Temple. The King was even forbidden to take his meals with his family, but their grief was so great that the authorities decided to allow them to meet as before. The conjugal tenderness displayed in this episode was the result of their common misfortune. It had needed such an experience to bring together two persons who had so long been sepa-

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rated by the difference of their tastes and the contrast of their natures. Both the King and Queen had been softened by trouble. The brusqueness and rudeness of Louis was tempered by melancholy and sadness; his indolence was ennobled by a serene dignity and his passivity appeared like resignation. The Queen, no longer frivolous and careless, showed herself full of strength and forethought, ready to face the tragedy of her fate. For the first time she recognized the good qualities of her husband. The affection of Louis for the Queen, and his indulgence, were soon to appear in that simple and touching phrase of his testament: "I beg my wife to pardon me for all the misfortune which she has suffered on my account and the chagrin which I may have caused her in the course of our union. She may be sure that I treasure up nothing against her, if she thinks that she has any reason for self-reproach."

On the 29 September Louis left the apartment of M. Berthélmy, and took possession of his permanent quarters in the big Tower, and on the 25 October the rest of the family followed him. The single large room on each of the stories had been hastily divided, on the second and third floors, into four rooms of almost equal dimensions, measuring about four mètres square. Ceilings of stretched canvas were improvised in order to hide the height of the Gothic arches; and as the Tower had no chimneys, certain windows were blocked up to install a heating apparatus. On the second floor, reserved for the King, there were an anteroom, a dining-room, a bedroom, in which the Dauphin also slept, and a room for Cléry. The arrangement of the rooms on the third floor, assigned to Marie-Antoinette, her daughter and Madame Élisabeth, was almost the same.

The room of the Queen had a view over the garden and was not so dismal as the others: here the King took his *déjeuner* with the princesses. The food was brought by the three waiters from the distant kitchens, and was served by Cléry. This was also the schoolroom of the

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Dauphin and Madame Royale. The King taught his son the first elements of Latin, a little history, and a little mathematics, while the Queen gave her daughter instruction in music, sewing and embroidery.

At two o'clock the family assembled for dinner in the small, fireless dining-room on the second floor. This was a luxurious meal, served on fine table-linen, with silver from the Temple palace. The menu on ordinary days included three soups, four entrées, two roasts, and four entremets. For dessert there were "a plate of pastry," three compotes, and three plates of fruits. The King alone drank wine, and he had a bottle of champagne, and three decanters containing Madeira, Malmsey and Bordeaux. The others drank only water. Louis had his usual extraordinary appetite, almost the only Bourbon trait he possessed, and the Queen ate little, but slowly, in order to give him time to satisfy his hunger. During the meal the municipal representatives stood on guard, and always with covered heads. The King conversed with them, "talking to the lawyers and doctors about Greek and Latin authors, and to the workmen about their calling." After dinner the family descended to the garden to take a little exercise. Here again they were carefully watched by the commissioners of the Commune.

But in spite of their anxious surveillance the commissioners were duped by their prisoners. Under the very eyes of their guardians, the Queen and Madame Élisabeth received news from the outside world, exchanged communications, and were kept accurately informed regarding political events. Many plans were made for their rescue, and several young and chivalrous Royalists succeeded both in corresponding and in having secret interviews with Marie-Antoinette. Chief among these were the Baron de Batz, and the famous Chevalier de Maison-Rouge, who was the hero of Dumas' celebrated romance of that name. In some way these facts became known, and in the month of November the Commune took stern measures: Louis was separated from his wife and children, and was not permitted to communicate with them. This

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of course was a tyrannical act, but it is the only one which is reported on good authority.

For some time past, the public mind had been gradually prepared for the trial of the King. When the Château was sacked on the 10 August, there were found documents which proved the secret correspondence of the King with the Émigrés and with the Great Powers. In a report, drawn up by order of the Legislative Assembly, Louis was accused of intending to betray the State and overthrow the Revolution. The fresh documents found in the Iron Closet supported this accusation. Here were discovered proofs of all the conspiracies and intrigues of the Court: the arrangements with Mirabeau and the correspondence of the Queen with Barnave. The bust of Mirabeau was broken by the Jacobins, and the Convention covered the one which stood in the Manège.

From the first the Mountain was opposed to a *trial* of any kind: Robespierre demanded a decree for the King's *execution*. The Convention was not, and could not be, a Court of Justice. The King relied on the Constitution of 1791, which established the irresponsibility of the monarch. He lent himself, however, to the judicial comedy, thinking it would stop short of murder.

The discussion began in the Convention on the 13 November, six days after the report of the committee. The violent party had but a very feeble minority in the Convention, but on the outside it was strongly supported by the Jacobins and the Commune. Against the wishes of the Mountain, the majority of the Convention, composed largely of Girondins, decided that the King should be tried. The arraignment, setting forth the charges, was drawn up, and the Convention summoned the King to the bar.

When the King appeared before the Convention, the President, in a voice of emotion, said to him: "Louis, the French Nation accuses you. You are about to hear the charges of the indictment. Louis, be seated." The King's demeanor during the examination was simple, but full of dignity. Seated in his armchair, he replied freely

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to every question. With respect to his conduct before the 14 July, he reminded them that his authority was not then limited; and for his subsequent acts, he claimed that under the Constitution his Ministers were responsible. With regard to the documents found at the Tuileries, he made use of the natural right of every accused person and refused to admit the existence of the Iron Closet.

After Louis had returned to the Temple, the deputies considered his request for a defender, and, in spite of the opposition of the Mountain, the Convention decided to allow him the services of counsel. The venerable Malesherbes offered to defend the King. His request was granted, and he associated with him Tronchet, and an eloquent young advocate by the name of Desèze.

The address for the defence was made by Desèze, and his plea was adroit and touching: before any fair and impartial tribunal, it would have secured the acquittal of the King. After more than a century we can still hear his grave voice, as he extolled the goodness of the King, whose love of justice and personal virtue had never failed, and whose person he claimed was inviolable under the terms of the Constitution. "I say no more; I pause in the presence of History. Remember, it will give its verdict on yours, and the verdict of History will be the verdict of the ages to come."

The Girondins wished to save the King, but they feared the imputation of royalism. They proposed a skillful way out of the dilemma, by an appeal to the people from the sentence of the Convention.

During the period of the long debates before the Convention, the Royalists took no action and the general public remained unmoved. The statement so generally made that the members of the Convention acted under duress does not seem to be well founded. The deputies never ceased to be free, and they ran no danger whatsoever.

Upon the 14 January, after a long and stormy discussion, it was decreed that the members should vote successively, upon the guilt of the King, the ratification by

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the people, and the penalty. The following day it was decided that, on the call of the roll, each of the deputies should appear in the tribune and announce his vote, and that they should all have the privilege of stating their reasons. The first two questions were immediately put to vote, and the roll-calls were not finished until ten o'clock that night. Upon the first question, that of the guilt of the King, the Convention unanimously declared "Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the general safety of the State." On the question of the ratification by the people, there were 287 votes in the affirmative and 424 in the negative.

The following session was one of the most dramatic of the Convention. It was prolonged for more than 36 consecutive hours, from the 16 January, at ten o'clock in the morning, until the following night at ten o'clock. The first hours, however, were devoted to clearing up current matters. A proposition that the decision of the Convention should be rendered by a majority of two-thirds or three-quarters was voted down. Danton took the ground that the usual majority, that of half the voices plus one, which was "sufficient to make a law, ought to suffice also to unmake a king." (*Suffisante pour faire une loi devait suffire aussi pour défaire un roi*). The actual voting did not begin until towards eight o'clock in the evening and continued without interruption for twenty-four hours, as nearly all the deputies wished to give the reasons for their votes.

The vote was taken by departments, and in each department followed the order of election. The first department called was the Haute-Garonne, and the first deputy to vote was Mailhe. He voted for death, but added: "If death has the majority, I think that it will be desirable for the Convention to decide whether it would not be proper to put off the moment of execution." This was a new move on the part of the Right. Defeated upon the appeal to the people, they brought up now the question of suspending the sentence, which might annul all the proceedings.

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When the roll-call was finished, the Girondin Vergniaud, the presiding officer, declared in the midst of a profound silence, and with an accent of grief, that, the majority being 361 for 721 voters, and 366 members having voted for death, "the penalty which the Convention pronounces against Louis Capet is death."

On the following morning, the 18 January, when the new session began, it was found that the official figures already announced were not correct. There was no question of the good faith of the tally-clerks, but the noise and the fatigue rendered an exact count almost impossible. The session of that day was therefore given up to a second roll-call which established the final official figures. With 721 votes the new majority was 387 against 334, but if we deduct the 26 votes in favor of the Mailhe amendment, there remains the figure of 361, which is exactly equal to that of an absolute majority. Louis the Sixteenth was therefore condemned to death by a majority of only one vote.

During the course of the trial the King was not allowed to see his family. This separation lasted for six weeks, during which time the Queen received no papers, and no news of the trial. Early on the morning of the 20 January, she heard under her window the voices of the newsdealers loudly announcing the condemnation of the King, the refusal of a suspension of sentence, and the execution on the following day. It was thus that she learned of her coming widowhood.

On the same evening, at about eight-thirty, she was informed that, by order of the Convention, she and her family were authorized to pay a visit to the condemned. The King awaited his family in the dining-room. The Queen entered, leading the Dauphin by the hand, and followed by the other members of the royal family. The room was practically unfurnished, there being only a table and several chairs, while the only light was a small oil lamp. Through the glass panels of the door, the municipal officers, assembled without, watched the scene. The King was dressed in brown, with grey breeches, his

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hair lightly powdered and knotted in a club. The Queen was attired in white muslin, with a linen fichu, and a bonnet of the same material, which allowed several white locks to escape. None of the details of this interview has come down to us. At the end of an hour and a half, the King rose from his chair, in sign of dismissal, and the Queen then begged him to permit her and the two children to remain with him during the night. The King refused, and the Queen then asked him to arrange to see his family the following morning before he left for the scaffold. This the King promised, but the next morning the Queen waited in vain to be summoned. Louis had forbidden his attendants to notify his family, and had charged Cléry to explain to them how much it cost him to leave without receiving their last embraces. At the same time he handed the servant several souvenirs: his marriage ring, a seal, and an envelope containing several locks of his hair.

The Queen passed the morning in a state of indescribable anguish, listening to the slightest sound. All at once, at about noon, she heard the rolling of the cannons returning to the barracks, the cries of "*Vive la République!*" and the shouts of joy: she then understood that all was over. Marie-Antoinette asked the municipal officers to supply her with mourning garments, and, after a delay of two days, her request was granted.

On Monday morning, the 21 January 1793, the King arose early, at six o'clock, and heard Mass, which was celebrated by the Abbé Edgeworth. He took communion, and then had more than an hour to wait. All the armed forces of the city were mobilized under the orders of Santerre, the commanding general of the National Guard of Paris. From the prison to the scaffold, along the boulevards, the troops formed an uninterrupted double line. Upon the Place de la Révolution, nearly twenty thousand men were massed. One of the Ministers had loaned his carriage, which was escorted by about fifteen hundred men. The weather was foggy and rainy. All

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life in the city was suspended, shops closed, and factories deserted.

At ten o'clock the cortège finally arrived at the place of execution. After a few minutes of hesitation, Louis descended from the carriage. At the foot of the scaffold, the executioner removed the King's coat, tied his hands behind his back, and cut off his hair. Louis made a slight resistance, but soon became calm, when, according to legend, the Abbé Edgeworth said: "Fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel!" On the scaffold, the King rushed to the edge and cried: "People! I die innocent! I pardon . . ." Upon the order of the generals, the drums redoubled their rolling. The King stamped his foot, and once more endeavored to resist while they were tying him to the plank. He was still attempting to speak when the knife fell. The executioner showed the head to the people and the crowd cried: "Vive la Nation!" The body was removed to the cemetery of the Madeleine, where it remained until after the Restoration, when it was transferred to Saint-Denis.

Despite the destruction of so much that was worth saving of the Paris of the Revolution, there yet remain many spots that are fairly well preserved. One of these is the Cour du Commerce near the old tower and wall of Philippe-Auguste on the south side of the city. Outside that wall, close to the Porte de Buci, there had been a tennis-court, which was extended in 1776 into a narrow passage with small houses on either side. The old entrance of the tennis-court became the northern entrance to the new passage, and the southern entrance was at the end of the Rue des Cordeliers, now Rue de l'École-de-Médecine. Just one hundred years later, in 1876, the southern end of this Cour du Commerce was cut away by the modern Boulevard Saint-Germain, on the northern side of which a new entrance to the court was made. At the same time the houses on the north side of the Rue de l'École-de-Médecine were torn down and replaced by the small triangular space where the statute of Danton

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now stands among the trees. One of these demolished houses was the home of Danton, and his statue marks exactly the doorway to his dwelling-place. His apartment, on the first floor, had two salons and a bedroom looking out on the Rue des Cordeliers, while the dining-room had windows on the Cour du Commerce. Here he lived in 1792 with his wife and son. In the entresol below, with his wife, dwelt Camille Desmoulins, his secretary. Two days after the terrible 10 August, Danton moved for a short time to the grand hôtel on the Place Vendôme, the official residence of the Minister of Justice, but returned to his apartment in the autumn after his election to the Convention.

A little to the east of Danton's house was the apartment of Marat, where he lived with his mistress and his two sisters. It was at this house that he was assassinated by Charlotte Corday. The printing-office of his "*L'Ami du Peuple*" was at the noisy corner of the Cour du Commerce.

In a small building on the north corner of the entrance of the Cour du Commerce from Rue de l'Ancienne-Comédie the first guillotine was set up, for experiments on sheep, by Doctor Antoine Louis, Secretary of the Academy of Surgeons and head of the committee appointed by the National Assembly the 6 October 1791. A clause in the new penal code adopted that day made death by decapitation the only mode of execution, and the committee was authorized to perfect the apparatus. It was not entirely a new invention, for the mediæval executioners of Germany and Scotland had used "the Maiden," a similar machine. In the Assembly, Doctor Joseph Guillotin had tried two years before to impress on the deputies the need of a method of capital punishment more humane than the sword or the rope, but he was laughed to scorn.

On the 25 April 1792, the machine perfected by Doctor Louis, and known as "*la Louissette*," was tried on a criminal in the Place de Grève. Three days later "the Maiden" received her official title, "*la Guillotine*." How many

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heads, from the crowned king of the Capet line to the Arras lawyer, from Bailly, the pedantic mayor of Paris, to brilliant young Barnave, were destined to fall beneath the grim machine with which the name of the philanthropic Doctor Guillotin is forever associated! "Unfortunate Doctor!" says Carlyle, "his name like to outlive Cæsar's!"

The guillotine was soon transferred from the Place de Grève to the Carrousel, and thence, in May 1793, when the Convention moved to the Tuileries, to the Place de la Révolution. This large square, just beyond the Tuileries Gardens, prior to the Revolution had in its centre, on the present site of the Obelisk of Luxor, an equestrian statue of the late "well-beloved" King, for whom the Place had been named; and between that point and the "pont-tournant" of the Gardens the scaffold was set up. Lamartine, with epic license which scorns historic proof, for the effect he gets of the flowing of water and of blood, puts it on the site of the southern fountain. Hare, in his "Walks in Paris," also states, erroneously, that the fountain on the south side marks the exact spot where Louis the Sixteenth died. For the execution of the King, on the 21 January 1793, the guillotine was erected for the *first time* on the Place de la Révolution, and according to a contemporary sketch in the Musée Carnavalet at Paris, for this occasion only, it was placed on the *north* side of the square between the remains of the statue and the entrance to the Rue Royale, that it might be well protected by the troops. Nevertheless, such excellent authorities as Georges Cain, in his "Promenades dans Paris," and the Martins, in their "Stones of Paris," give the site as just to the *west* of the centre, towards the entrance of the Champs-Élysées. As Pope says, "Who shall decide when doctors disagree?" There is no doubt, however, that when the guillotine was permanently removed to the Place de la Révolution, in May 1793, it was set up on the *east* side between the statue of Liberty, upon the site of the former statue of Louis

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the Fifteenth, and the pont-tournant at the entrance of the Tuileries Gardens.

In a proclamation to the Émigrés, under date of the 28 January, the Comte de Provence declared the Dauphin King of France and Navarre under the name of Louis the Seventeenth, he himself becoming Regent, and his younger brother, the Comte d'Artois, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. With the support of the allied sovereigns he hoped to liberate the prisoners in the Temple, and reëstablish the Monarchy upon its former basis. He wished also to inflict an exemplary punishment upon the criminals and avenge the blood of Louis the Sixteenth. Vain menaces, and so maladroit that the "Moniteur" took pains to publish the document in full a month later.

"No death throughout the Revolution," says Mr. Stephens, "is so pathetic as that of Louis. He had earnestly longed from the moment he came to the throne to benefit his people. He had willingly consented to be deprived of many of the powers which he had inherited from his ancestors, but every concession which he had made lost its effect in the eyes of the people by the ineptitude of his confidential advisers and ministers. . . . If the political weakness of his ministers prevented him from ever getting credit for his sincere devotion to the cause of reform, still more did the conduct of the Queen prevent his being recognized as a really patriotic king. On many an occasion, when he was willing and desirous to act in harmony with the popular leaders, she prevented him. . . . Personally upright, and desirous of being politically honest, loathing bloodshed and fearing civil war, Louis the Sixteenth had every quality to make him a good constitutional king. . . . Louis was no martyr, he was no hero, he was no saint: he was a good man, with the best intentions, whose character was not equal to the stirring times in which he lived; he lost his life because he was born to a throne at an unpropitious period, and not for any personal offences of his own."

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Louis the Fifteenth, with his cynical disregard for posterity, had exclaimed, "Après nous, le déluge!" Says Mignet: "His (Louis') ancestors bequeathed to him a revolution. He was better calculated than any of them to prevent and terminate it; for he was capable of becoming a reformer-king before it broke out, or of becoming a constitutional king afterwards. He is perhaps the only prince, who, having no other passion, had not that of power, and who united the two qualities which make good kings, fear of God and love of the people. He perished, the victim of passions which he did not share: of those of the persons about him, to which he was a stranger, and to those of the multitude which he had not excited. Few memories of kings are so commendable. History will say of him, that, with a little more strength of mind, he would have been an exemplary king."

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

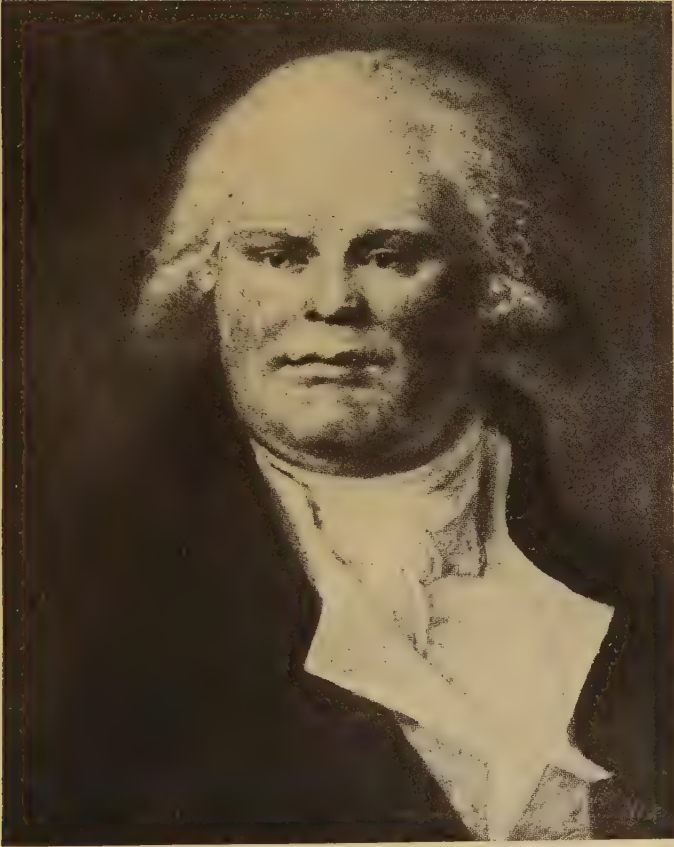
1793

THE FALL OF THE GIRONDINS

Results of the Death of the King — Rupture between France and England — War with Spain — French Reverses — The Revolutionary Tribunal — Committee of General Defence — Treason of Dumouriez — Committee of Public Safety — Its Members — Influence of the Foreign War — Arrest of Marat — His Trial and Acquittal — The Convention at the Tuileries — Insurrection of the Commune — Murder of Marat — The Allies Cross the Northern Frontier — The Siege of Mayence — Rebellion in the Vendée — Insurrections at Lyon, Marseille, Bordeaux and Caen — The Constitution of 1793 — Fate of the Fugitive Deputies — Character of the Girondins

THE immediate consequence of the death of the King was a formidable increase in the number of the enemies of France. The nation was already at war with Austria and Prussia; the execution served as a pretext for England to begin hostilities, and was the cause of the war with Spain. All of the Courts, both large and small, were struck with consternation at the news of the fate of Louis the Sixteenth. The sovereigns viewed with horror a republic which caused a royal head to fall under the axe. Holland, Italy, and the states of Germany at once entered the war. Catherine the Second of Russia put on mourning, but took good care not to intervene directly against the Republic. All these States used the "murder of the King" as an excuse, although they had motives much more practical than this sentimental one. They thought that it was an excellent opportunity to gain territory from a nation which was plainly in process of dissolution.

The rupture between France and England was a most



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important event. The Prime Minister of Great Britain at that time was William Pitt, who, at the age of thirty-three, had already been in power for nine years. He had come into office at the moment when England had been forced to recognize the independence of the United States and thus to submit to the most painful humiliation in her history. Pitt had given his country both force and prestige. His first task had been to put the national finances in good condition, and he had therefore pursued a peaceful policy. It has been well said that, if Pitt had died in 1792, his name would have been synonymous with peace, prudence and economy, although, by a singular contradiction, during the remaining years of his life he forced England into a war which was the most expensive, the longest, and the most terrible the country had ever known.

Pitt changed his policy at the end of November 1792, at the exact moment that the first Republican victories placed in peril the system of European politics which seemed to him of the utmost importance to the interests of his country. The victories of Dumouriez, at Valmy and Jemmapes, in the opinion of Pitt compromised the balance of power which he thought he had secured. First of all, Belgium was conquered. The kings of France had endeavored many times to annex that country, but in spite of all their power they had never succeeded: England, in alliance with Holland, had prevented them. Now one of the pillars of ancient Europe had given way. Conquered by the Republicans, Belgium was liberated from her former servitude. Antwerp, which Napoleon later said was "a pistol pointed at the head of England," was in the hands of the French.

But this was not all: in the second place, Holland was threatened. The Dutch patriots had urged the French republicans to enter their country, and the decree of the 19 November 1792 seemed to render an early invasion very probable.

Finally, Pitt suspected the *rapprochement* of Prussia and Russia, caused by the check of Prussia in France; and he foresaw the second partition of Poland.

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As soon as he had arrived at a decision, and his policy had been definitely accepted by the English Cabinet, Pitt began systematically to take all possible means to force the French to declare war. In spite of all the English provocations, however, the attitude of the French Government for a long time remained very pacific. But on the first day of February France finally declared war.

In Spain, Godoy, the lover of Queen Marie-Louise, had replaced, in November 1792, the aged Aranda, who was a partisan of the French, and had kept his country neutral. The King, Charles the Fourth, as a Bourbon, as a monarch, and as a Spaniard; upon the point of family sentiment, of royal solidarity, and of honor, had wished to save Louis the Sixteenth and give him and his family a refuge. It must be admitted that of all the sovereigns of Europe, he was the only one who tried personally to act in favor of the King of France. The emotion caused in Spain by the news of the execution of Louis led to many popular and clerical movements; the King swore to avenge his cousin, and the Queen shed floods of tears. Godoy talked like a hero, and the Spanish armaments continued. The French Government, having failed to obtain any response to its demands for explanations, on the 23 February ordered its ambassador to leave Madrid, and finally, on the seventh of March, the Convention declared war against Spain.

Danton seized the moment to try to put an end to the perpetual party quarrels in the Convention. He had opposed the outbreak of the war, but now that it was begun, the war was his main interest. He advocated a reorganization of the Committee of General Security, and the removal of Roland from the Ministry.

On the 24 January, three days after the King's execution, Pache resigned as Minister of War, and three weeks later he was elected mayor of Paris. His resignation was partly caused by the arrival of Dumouriez at Paris, where he had come to obtain permission to invade Holland. The Convention gave its consent, and in view of the new war passed two decrees, one for the issue of new

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assignats to the amount of eight hundred million livres, and the other for a new levy of three hundred thousand men. This latter decree was the immediate cause of the outbreak of war in La Vendée.

Early in March, Dumouriez invaded Holland with his main army, but was soon obliged to fall back by the news that the Prince of Cobourg had driven his lieutenant Valence from Aix-la-Chapelle. Dumouriez concentrated his forces at Antwerp, but he found that his soldiers had lost their former confidence. Bad news was also received from the army of Custine, who had been driven from Frankfort and forced to retire behind the lines of Wissembourg. The Prussians had crossed the Rhine and besieged Mayence.

One of the direct results of these reverses was the formation at Paris of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which was afterwards to be the chief engine of the Terror. Fouquier-Tinville, a bankrupt procureur, was appointed director of the jury, or public accuser, of the new tribunal.

On the 21 March, the terrible news was received at Paris of the defeat of Dumouriez at Neerwinden, with a loss of four thousand men.

This event led to the reorganization of the Committee of General Defence, which was placed on another footing. This committee, which came into existence in January 1793, was originally composed of twenty-one members, who were chosen from the seven most important committees of the Convention. The committee, as reorganized, consisted of twenty-four members. It contained nine Girondins, nine deputies of the Plain, and six Jacobins, including every representative man in the Convention. Among the principal members were Pétion, Buzot, and Condorcet, from the Girondins; Sieyès, Cambacérès, and Barère on the part of the Plain; and Danton, Robespierre and Camille Desmoulins from the Mountain.

After his defeat at Neerwinden, Dumouriez retreated from Belgium and established his headquarters at Saint-Amand. Here he received four members of the Conven-

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tion who had been sent with the Minister of War, Beurnonville, to summon him to the bar of the Convention. Dumouriez promptly tore up the summons, and was immediately suspended by the commissioners. He retaliated by arresting the five men and sending them off to General Clerfayt, whose headquarters were at Tournai. They were closely imprisoned by the Austrians until exchanged two years later for Madame Royale.

Dumouriez, since his defeat, had been in communication with the Austrians, and had promised to hand over to them the three fortresses of Lille, Valenciennes, and Condé. He now set out for Condé, but was stopped by a young officer of the old Royal army, Colonel Davout, who was later to become a marshal of the Empire. Davout fired upon Dumouriez and his staff and drove them across the frontier.

Marat, who was statesman enough to see the need of strengthening the executive, now proposed that enlarged powers should be given to the committees. The Committee of General Defence had proved useless: it held few meetings and made almost no decisions. Having been reorganized on the 28 March, it was now again transformed on the demand of Marat, Robespierre, and Barère. It was to be composed of nine members only and was to be known as the Committee of Public Safety. The three great institutions upon which France was to depend to win the war were now in existence: the Committee of Public Safety, the Committee of General Security, and the Revolutionary Tribunal.

The disasters on the frontiers, and the insurrections in the provinces, during the summer of 1793, had thus brought about, what Mirabeau and Danton had so earnestly advocated, the establishment of a strong executive. Under the pressure of foreign and civil war, the Convention had appointed the great Committee of Public Safety, which really governed France during the period between September 1793 and July 1794. As finally reorganized, on the 17 September 1793, the Committee consisted of twelve men: Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-

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Just, Carnot, Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, Saint-André, Prieur of the Marne, Robert Lindet, Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois, Hérault de Séchelles, and Barère.

The members were all men of education, and all of them in the prime of life, the eldest, Lindet, being fifty, and the youngest, Saint-Just, just twenty-five; their average age was only thirty-seven. Of the twelve, three came from the new noblesse, and the others of good bourgeois families. No less than seven of them were avocats; two, Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, were engineer officers; Saint-André was a Protestant pastor; Collot d'Herbois was a well-known actor, and Saint-Just was a law student.

Maximilien Robespierre, who was the great central figure of the Committee, has already been described. In the Committee he had only two faithful adherents among the twelve — one a cripple, Couthon, and the other, little more than a boy, Saint-Just.

Georges-Auguste Couthon was born in Auvergne on the 22 December 1755. He was educated for the bar, and in 1783 became an avocat at Clermont-Ferrand, where he soon built up a large practice. In 1788, he was stricken with paralysis, and entirely lost the use of his legs. He was elected a deputy to the Legislative Assembly, where he played an important part. His affliction, and the consequent necessity of speaking from his seat or being carried to the tribune, gave him an individuality, and his words were always listened to with respectful sympathy. He was reëlected to the Convention, and at once allied himself there with Robespierre, to whom he was attached by sympathy of tastes, education and manners.

Louis-Antoine de Saint-Just, the younger of Robespierre's two supporters, was of better birth than his friend, being the only son of a retired captain of cavalry and a Chevalier de Saint-Louis. He was born in the Nivernais on the 25 August 1767, and was educated by the Oratorians at Soissons. He studied law, but soon began to write, being a confirmed disciple of Rousseau. In 1792 he was elected to the Convention, where he attacked the

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Monarchy, and spoke eloquently in favor of the immediate execution of the King. His slight figure, straight black hair, large blue eyes, and bold features; his cold, reserved manner, and simple habits and dress, made him, together with his youth, a striking figure. With Robespierre and Couthon, he formed the famous "triumvirate" within the Committee of Public Safety; but unlike his two associates he was essentially a man of action — courageous, pitiless, uncompromising.

Of the nine remaining members of the Committee, seven were essentially administrators, and really had more to do with the government of France, although, in the eyes of posterity, their names are quite overshadowed by those of the triumvirate. Their work was divided substantially as follows: Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or superintended the conduct of the wars on the frontiers; Saint-André looked after the navy; Prieur of the Marne and Lindet supervised the service of supplies; Billaud-Varenne and Collot d'Herbois had charge of the Revolutionary government in the interior.

Lazare Carnot, who is the best known of these seven men, was born in the Bourgogne on the 15 March 1753, and was therefore forty years of age when he entered the great Committee. His father was a country avocat, who gave his son a good education at the college of Autun, and then at a military tutor's in Paris. Through his proficiency in mathematics he gained admission in 1771 to the college of Royal Engineers at Mezières, whence he graduated two years later with a commission as first-lieutenant. His entire military career was spent in garrison on the northern frontier. In 1784 he was promoted captain, and in 1791 he married the daughter of M. Dupont, a wealthy resident of Saint-Omer where he was in garrison. In September of that year, through the influence of his father-in-law, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly. In that assembly he served on the Military Committee, and was reporter on the murder of Théobald Dillon. He was elected to the Convention, and in August 1793 was one of the two officers recommended by the

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Committee of Public Safety to be added to their number to take the direction of the foreign war.

The other officer of Royal Engineers who was added to the Committee at the same time, and who became Carnot's principal assistant, was Claude-Antoine Prieur-Duvernois, commonly known as Prieur of the Côte-d'Or. He was the only son of a receiver-general of taxes at Auxonne, where he was born on the 22 December 1763. He was therefore not quite thirty, and Carnot's junior by ten years, when he became a member of the Committee. Like Carnot, he was educated at Mezières, and entered the Royal Engineers in 1784. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly by the department of the Côte-d'Or in 1791, and was subsequently chosen to the Convention by the same department.

The same power which Carnot and Prieur exercised with respect to the wars on the frontiers was wielded with regard to the navy by Jean-Bon Saint-André. He came of a wealthy Protestant family of Montauban, where he was born in 1749. He was educated by the Jesuits, and not in the religion of his family. Having a strong love for the sea, he entered the merchant service, and became a captain. He nearly lost his life in a shipwreck in the West Indies, and the shock made him turn to thoughts of religion. He abandoned the sea; became an ardent Protestant; went to Lausanne and studied theology; and became a Protestant pastor. He failed of election to the Legislative Assembly, but was chosen to the Convention. At first he took his seat among the Girondins, but later became disgusted with the vacillations of that party, and joined the Mountain.

Of Pierre-Louis Prieur, commonly called Prieur of the Marne, there is little known except that he was born at Sommesous on the first of April 1756, and was practicing as an avocat at Châlons-sur-Marne in 1789, when he was elected to the States-General. At the close of the Constituent Assembly he was elected vice-president of the criminal tribunal of the Seine, and in September 1792 was chosen by the department of the Marne to the Convention. He

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was a member of the Committee of General Defence, and eventually in July 1793 was elected a member of the great Committee.

Jean-Baptiste-Robert Lindet, who was the special colleague of Prieur of the Marne, was born in Normandie in 1743, and was therefore the oldest member of the Committee. He was practicing as an avocat in his little native town of Bernay when he was chosen to the Legislative Assembly in September 1791. He was elected to the Convention, where he made a reputation as an admirable worker on committees, but his weak voice prevented him from speaking.

The two members of the Committee who especially looked after the internal administration of France, and who were the real rulers of the country under the Terror, were Billaud-Varenne and Collot d'Herbois. The former was the son of an avocat at La Rochelle, where he was born on the 23 April 1756. He at first intended to follow his father's profession and study law, but he changed his mind and became a teacher in the Oratorian college at Juilly, where he had as one of his colleagues the notorious Fouché. In 1785 he went to Paris and began the practice of law, but did not have much success. He made his name known through the publication of several political pamphlets, and also became a regular attendant at the Jacobin and Cordeliers clubs. During the September Massacres, he was elected to the Convention from Paris. It was he who really systematized the Terror, of which he was the most courageous defender.

Jean-Marie Collot d'Herbois is said to have been born in Paris in 1750 and to have been the son of a bourgeois. Little is known about his education. Early in his career he devoted himself to the theatre, and became in turn actor, manager, and dramatic author. He came to Paris early in the Revolution, and was elected a member of the Convention, of which he became president in 1793.

In connection with the Committee, it only remains to speak of Hérault de Séchelles, the friend of Danton, and of Barère, the habitual spokesman of the Committee.

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Marie-Jean Hérault de Séchelles, in birth and manners, differed entirely from the rest of his colleagues and must at times have felt himself strangely out of place. He was the descendant of an ancient family of Normandie; his uncle was the Maréchal de Contades, and his father, a colonel in the army, was killed at the head of his regiment at the battle of Minden. He was born in Paris in 1760, the year of his father's death, and received a good education. He was introduced at Court by his cousin, Madame de Polignac, and the Queen took a great fancy to the handsome youth. From his reputation as an orator and his Court influence, he made a great success at the bar, and was promoted to be *avocat-général* to the Parlement of Paris at the unprecedented age of twenty-five. He took part in the attack on the Bastille and was one of the first to enter the fortress. His action on this occasion caused him to be hated by the Royalists, and from that time on he was thrown more and more with the popular party. In September 1791 he was elected a deputy to the Legislative Assembly for the department of the Seine. He was elected to the Convention, but in November was sent on a mission, and so was absent at the time of the trial of the King. On his return to Paris he allied himself closely with Danton and was his only friend on the Committee.

Bertrand Barère was born at Tarbes in 1755; he studied law, and began his professional life in Toulouse. He was a deputy to the National Assembly, and was also elected a member of the Convention, of which he was president at the time of the trial of the King. He voted in favor of death and against the appeal to the people. In January 1793, he became a member of the Committee of General Defence, and in April, of the Committee of Public Safety, of which he was the spokesman before the Convention. Originally a supporter of Robespierre, he was to take a leading part in his downfall, and to survive the Revolution by many years, dying in 1841 at the age of eighty-six. Macaulay, in one of his Essays, expresses the extravagant opinion that "Barère approached

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nearer than any person mentioned in history or fiction, man or devil, to the idea of consummate and universal depravity."

It is obvious that it was the foreign war which developed with such astonishing rapidity the progress of the Revolution. The attack on the Tuileries in August had been caused mainly by Brunswick's manifesto, and the September Massacres were due to the news of the surrender at Verdun. It was the battle of Neerwinden which led to the organization of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the desertion of Dumouriez which brought about the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety. To the foreign war was due the bitterness of the Revolutionary spirit at Paris, and the organization of the system of the Terror. The foreign war also led to the fall of the Girondins, who had done more than any one else to bring it on.

As soon as these important measures had been taken, which the leaders of the Convention believed would enable France to drive the invaders across the frontiers, the two principal parties, the Girondins and the Jacobins, turned upon each other with renewed ardor, and the death-struggle began. The Girondins opened the battle with an attack upon Marat. Few steps could have been more ill-advised: Marat was no favorite in the Convention, but he remained the idol of the people of Paris, and in attacking him the Girondins exasperated the whole populace. As president of the Jacobin Club, on the fifth of April, Marat had signed the circular inciting the people to civil war. For this, the Convention on the 12 April decreed that he should be arrested and sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Less than half of the deputies were present and many of the more important Girondins abstained from voting. By way of retaliation, two days later, thirty-five sections of Paris demanded the expulsion from the Convention of twenty-two of the leading Girondins as "disturbers of the public peace," including nearly all of the principal members. The Girondins were indignant at this proposition but did not attempt any regular reprisal.

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The trial of Marat took place on the 22 April, and he was unanimously acquitted, although most of the judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal sympathized with the Girondins. This was a fearful blow to the Girondin party, and Marat was hailed as "the martyr of liberty."

On the 10 May 1793 the Convention left the Manège to sit in the Tuileries. The place of meeting was the old Salle des Machines, also known as the Salle de Spectacle, in the north wing of the Tuileries, between the Pavillon de l'Horloge and the Pavillon de Marsan. The hall occupied the whole width of the north wing, and was the largest theatre in Europe, with a capacity of seven or eight thousand spectators. It was constructed in 1662 under the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and was opened with the first performance of the "Psyché" of Molière.

Roland had had charge of remodelling the old theatre, and the alterations were not a success. The hall was originally 236 feet long, 54 feet high, and took up the whole width of the palace, 69 feet. Some time before the Revolution, the hall had been diminished by a good third. This third was transformed into two rooms, one of which was used by the guards of the Convention, and the other as a waiting-room for the deputations who visited the Assembly. The vestibule on the side of the Carrousel, the grand staircase, and the ancient Chapel, transformed into a Salon de la Liberté, led to a side door and a corridor by which the representatives reached the Convention hall. This room, by a complication of vestibules or ante-rooms, halls and stairways, had been finally reduced to the dimensions of 46 yards in length by 17 yards in width and 18 yards in height. The galleries, which were arranged in three tiers, at the right and left, and also in a semicircle around the amphitheatre where the members sat, could accommodate at least 1500 spectators, and nearly double that number when crowded. The space for the deputies was so limited that they could hardly move after they had once taken their places. The hall was badly lighted, poorly ventilated, and the acoustic properties were

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defective, but it was finely decorated with garlands of laurel and bas-reliefs. The committee-rooms were conveniently placed in close proximity, the Committee of Public Safety in the Pavillon de Flore, and the Committee of General Security in the opposite Pavillon de Marsan; but the very real inconveniences of the new installation caused the deputies to forget these advantages. The guillotine, which up to that date had been located in the Carrousel before the palace, was at this time transferred to the Place de la Révolution.

Throughout the month of May, preparations went on for the final struggle between the two parties. The Paris Commune, which supported the Jacobins, and which idolized Marat, had decided to intervene, employing its customary weapon: physical force. It organized an insurrection against the Girondins with a real army of 80,000 men. Marat himself climbed to the belfry of the Hôtel-de-Ville and with his own hand sounded the tocsin. The self-styled "Friend of the People" was the leader of this movement, which lasted from the 31 May to the 2 June. The Tuileries were surrounded by the insurrectionary troops; the Convention was the prisoner of the Commune, and the French Government was at the mercy of the Paris mob. The Commune demanded the expulsion of the Girondist leaders from the Convention. The deputies protested indignantly against the conduct of the insurgents, and resolved to leave the hall in a body. They were received with mocked deference by the insurgents, but their demand that the troops disperse was bluntly refused until the denounced Girondists had been expelled. The members of the Convention, conquered and degraded, returned to their hall, and voted the arrest of twenty-nine Girondists. This victory of the Commune was the triumph of the Jacobins, who now became masters of the Convention. In all, thirty-one individuals, including two ministers, were ordered to be kept under surveillance in their own homes.

The Jacobins now made a bold front against their

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enemies, both on the frontiers and in France, for dangers had everywhere to be faced. During the months of June and July, Condé and Valenciennes were taken by the Allies; the English blockaded Dunkerque; Mayence surrendered to the Prussians, and the Spaniards invaded southern France. Everywhere the foreign foes were successful, and in France itself the insurrection in La Vendée had become more formidable.

In June, many of the arrested Girondins escaped from Paris and the rest of the prisoners, who could have escaped and would not take the opportunity, were imprisoned in the Luxembourg. But the excitement over the flight of the deputies was thrown into the shade by the report that Marat had been murdered by a young girl.

The "Friend of the People" had been confined to his house in the Rue des Cordeliers by a severe illness, and had not been able to attend the sittings of the Convention since the first of June. He could only find relief in sitting in a hot bath. A young girl living at Caen, in western Normandie, had become much excited in listening to the conversation of some of the escaped Girondin deputies. Her name was Charlotte Corday, and she was a descendant of the great dramatist Corneille. She was born in 1768 and was therefore twenty-five years of age at this time. Without informing any one of her purpose, she decided to go to Paris, and obtained a letter of introduction to one of the deputies in the capital. On her arrival, she wrote Marat, stating that she had important news to give him regarding the escaped Girondins. Receiving no reply, she called at his house, but was refused admittance. She then wrote another letter which had the desired effect. Armed with a knife which she had purchased in one of the shops of the Palais-Royal, she again called in the evening and was received by Marat, who was sitting in his bath. While he was writing down the names of the deputies at Caen, she stabbed him to the heart. By most writers Charlotte Corday has been treated as a martyr: in reality she was guilty of a most cold-blooded murder which produced no good result

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whatever. Marat was already a dying man, and at the time he was practically without influence. Charlotte was tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal, found guilty, and executed on the 17 July.

In the meantime, matters continued to go badly for the French on the northern frontier. Dampierre, who had succeeded Dumouriez in command, was killed in a skirmish early in May, and before Custine, who had been appointed to succeed him, could arrive at headquarters. The Austrians under Cobourg, and the English under the Duke of York, had united their armies and besieged Condé, which capitulated on the 10 June. Valenciennes, which was also besieged, surrendered on the 28 July after a bombardment of forty-three days. Only a serious dispute between Cobourg and York now prevented the allied army from marching directly on Paris. York insisted on turning aside towards Dunkerque, while the Austrians besieged Le Quesnoy. The middle of September York was obliged to raise the siege after being defeated at Hondschoote by a French force organized by Carnot, who had then just entered the Committee of Public Safety. After raising the siege, the Duke of York retreated rapidly towards the Prince of Cobourg. But before he joined Cobourg, the latter was defeated at Wattignies on the 15 October by a French army under the command of General Jourdan, a veteran soldier of the American war, whom Carnot had appointed commander-in-chief. Cobourg retired over the frontier and eventually joined the Duke of York in Belgium.

At the same time, on the Rhine, the great event was the siege of Mayence. When Custine retired from Germany, he left 22,000 men to garrison the city under the command of several generals, of whom the most famous was Kléber. Two deputies on mission, Merlin of Thionville and Reubell, were also present in the city. The place was not well provisioned, and the Prussians expected a short siege and an easy conquest. However, the courage of the two deputies inspired the young volunteers, and the defence of Mayence is famous in the his-

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tory of sieges. The soldiers expected speedy relief either from General Alexandre de Beauharnais, who had succeeded Custine in the command of the Army of the Rhine, or from the Army of the Moselle. After every animal in the city, down to the very rats, had been eaten, Mayence surrendered on the 23 June. The Convention declared that the defenders "had deserved well of the country," and at the same time ordered the arrest of Custine and Beauharnais, for not having better provisioned, or relieved the city. As the garrison had surrendered on condition that the soldiers should not serve in foreign wars for a period of one year, the gallant defenders of Mayence, now reduced from 22,000 to 8000 men, were ordered to the Vendée. After the capture of Mayence, the Prussians made no further efforts. But the Austrians, under Marshal Wurmser, invaded Alsace, and on the 13 October carried the famous lines of Wissembourg; after which, Pichegru was placed in command of the Army of the Rhine.

The rebellion in La Vendée, to which has been attributed the highest motives of religion and loyalty, was by no means so romantic as has generally been represented. It may safely be affirmed that religious and political motives had very little to do with the uprising. As already stated, the first cause of the insurrection was the decree of the 24 February for the levy of 300,000 men for the wars on the frontier.

The first disturbances lasted but a very short time, and were everywhere easily put down. But the severe retaliation of the representatives of the Convention imparted a feeling of bitterness to the people, and the peasants soon rose again. It was, therefore, almost with joy that the Convention learned that the garrison of Mayence, when that city surrendered, had sworn not to serve for one year against a foreign foe, and could therefore be ordered to La Vendée. The defenders of Mayence, under their famous generals, Kléber and Marceau, and their equally famous deputies, Merlin and Reubell, marched slowly across France to the seat of war. But the arrival

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of these troops did not bring immediate success, for the early part of September, the Republicans lost no less than five important battles. On the 17 September, however, the Vendéans were finally defeated in the great battle of Cholet by the Mayence troops under the command of Kléber. In this battle the two ablest leaders of the Vendée were mortally wounded, and the whole rebellion fell to pieces.

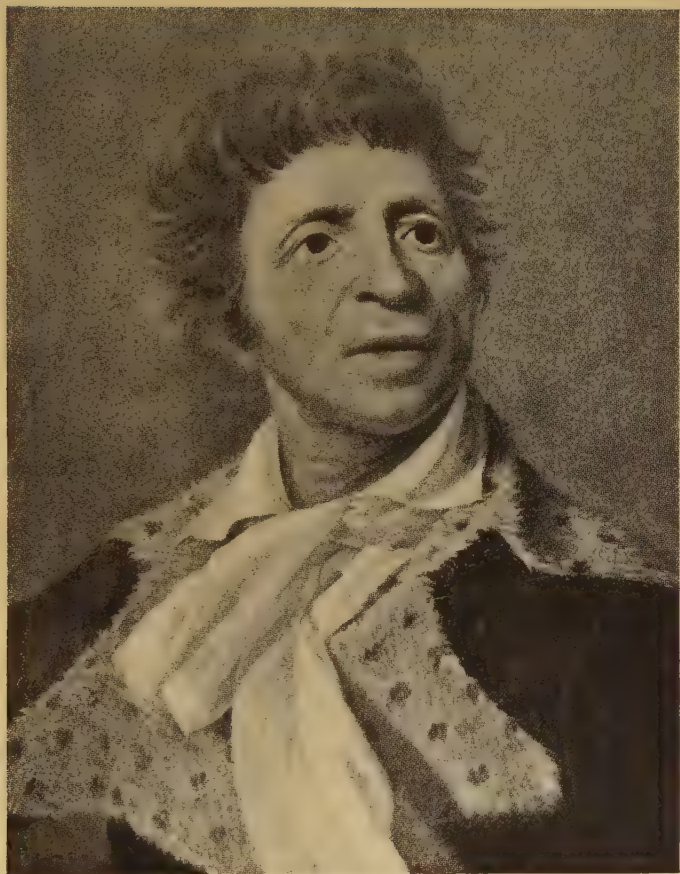
Early in June, insurrections against the Convention also broke out in the great cities of Lyon, Marseille, Bordeaux and Caen. In July, the Army of the Alps was ordered to advance on Lyon, and these troops were later reënforced by soldiers from the Northern Army. After a long siege, the Republican army finally entered the city on the ninth of October.

The resistance of Marseille was not so long or so spirited as that of Lyon. Carteaux was sent against the city with troops drawn from the Army of the Alps. Among his soldiers was a young Corsican by the name of Bonaparte who was serving as captain in the artillery regiment formerly known as that of Grenoble. The regular troops in Marseille went over to Carteaux, the National Guard of the city refused to fight, and the Republican forces entered the city without resistance.

Great indignation had been felt at Bordeaux over the events of the second of June at Paris. The inhabitants of the department of the Gironde were very proud of their eloquent deputies, and steps were taken to enlist volunteers to march on Paris. The middle of October, General Brune encamped in front of the city, and on the sixteenth the forces of the Convention quietly entered the place.

These risings were paralyzed by the want of harmony with each other and by the absence of men of real influence as leaders. In every case, a Revolutionary Commission was appointed to punish those who had opposed the Convention, and there were many executions.

The failure of the movement at Caen, however, cannot be attributed to lack of leaders, as no less than seventeen



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of the escaped Girondins were assembled there before the end of July. They were well received by the people, and at once took steps to raise an army to act against the Convention. They had no difficulty in finding an experienced general in Félix de Wimpfen, who had risen to the rank of *maréchal-de-camp* in the old Royal army. However, the whole influence of the Girondin deputies could only collect a force of 4000 men. The chief of the army of the Convention was General Sepher, whose name does not occur again in the history of the Revolution. But his second in command was an artist named Brune, who became Marshal of France under the Empire, and was cruelly murdered after the fall of Napoleon in 1815. On the 13 July, the two armies met at the little village of Pacy, and the Parisians claimed a great victory. After this the insurgent army melted away.

The troops of the Convention were accompanied by Robert Lindet, as representative on mission. He showed great leniency and did not order a single execution.

These insurrections had been participated in by sixty out of eighty-three departments, three-fourths of France. To allay the strong distrust of Paris felt by the departments, and to show them that they need not fear the dictatorship of the Commune, the Convention drafted in great haste a new constitution. The Constitution of 1793, the second in the history of the Revolution, so carefully guarded the rights of the departments and the rights of the people that it made dictation from Paris impossible.

The new Constitution established universal suffrage; provided that the legislative bodies must be elected only for a year; and that all laws were to be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection before being put into force. This is the first appearance in history of the *referendum*.

When submitted to the voters, the Constitution was overwhelmingly ratified, by nearly two million votes in the affirmative, with less than twelve thousand in the negative. The number of the inhabitants of France at that time was about twenty-eight millions. Under the régime

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of universal suffrage, the electoral body formed approximately one quarter of the population. There were therefore nearly seven million electors, of whom three out of four abstained from voting.

The new Constitution left the central government so weak that every one agreed that it could not be put into immediate effect, with foreign armies invading France from every direction: the crisis demanded a strong government. Consequently, by general consent, the Constitution was immediately suspended, to be put into operation as soon as the crisis was over. Meanwhile, this precious document was placed in a box in the centre of the hall of the Convention, where it was very much in the way.

If Robert Lindet had been wise enough not to punish the followers and dupes of the Girondins, after the insurrection in Normandie, he vigorously pursued the deputies themselves. Whither to escape they knew not. They had been outlawed by a decree of the 28 July, and in every quarter of France the Convention was triumphant. They fled in every direction, some separately and some in bands. The story of their adventures reads like an exciting romance. Five of them left Bretagne for Bordeaux, where they arrived too late to take part in the insurrection of the Gironde. A month later Pétion, Buzot, Barbaroux, Louvet, Valady, and Guadet, also sailed for the South, and met some of their former colleagues, who had preceded them, wandering about in search of an asylum. Guadet promised to protect them, and since his father's house at Saint-Émilion was closely watched, he asked his sister-in-law to receive them. She consented, and hid eight of the proscribed deputies in an old Roman quarry in her garden at Saint-Émilion, to which access was to be had only by going down a deep well. Here they remained in safety for some weeks, but in November were forced to leave their refuge, on the approach of cold weather. Louvet could no longer be kept away from Paris and his ladylove, and after incurring terrible dangers, he got back to Paris. Here his mistress concealed him in a cellar

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for two months, and afterwards contrived his escape to the mountains of Jura, where he remained until the end of the Terror.

The fate of the five who remained at Saint-Émilion was very sad. When forced to leave the quarry, Guadet and Salle were received in the house of the former's father, where they lived for many months in a garret under the roof. In June 1794, the house was searched and the two Girondins were discovered in their little attic. They were brought before the revolutionary committee of Bordeaux, and were at once guillotined.

In the meantime, Barbaroux, Pétion and Buzot had been concealed in the little house of a poor hairdresser at Saint-Émilion. On hearing of the arrest of their colleagues, they at once decided to leave the house and try and cross the Spanish frontier. But they were discovered, and Barbaroux attempted to commit suicide by shooting himself through the head. He was taken prisoner and removed to Bordeaux where he was guillotined. Pétion and Buzot managed to escape by hiding in a pine forest; but their spirit was broken by their long suffering and the death of their comrade, and in despair the former popular mayor of Paris, and the lover of Madame Roland, blew out their brains.

Thus one by one perished the majority of the men of genius who had exercised so great an influence on the history of the Revolution. The greatest mistake of the Girondin party was the declaration of war in April 1792. The Girondins were theorists and not men of action; they could all think, talk and write, but none of them ever did anything. When Verdun had fallen and the Prussians were in the heart of France, while Danton was crying out for volunteers, the Girondins occupied themselves with petty squabbles. It is needless to quote further instances: at no critical moment did any leader of the Girondins do any great deed. But their last fatal mistake was in encouraging civil war at the moment when France needed all of her strength to meet the foreign foes whom they had raised up. The people could forgive many things,

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but not lack of patriotism. Yet the fall of the Girondins has something very pathetic about it. They died unstained by the cruelty and the vices of the Jacobins, and the enthusiasm which they showed in their speeches and their writings creates a sympathy with their fate, which has impressed posterity and has made their names immortal.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

1793

THE LAST DAYS OF THE QUEEN

New Plots to Rescue the Queen — Separated from the Dauphin — Transferred to the Conciergerie — Her Life There — Her Trial and Execution — The Day of Her Death — Her Character — Trial and Execution of the Girondins — The Death of Égalité — Execution of Madame Roland and Suicide of Her Husband — Executions of Bailly, Duport, Barnave and Many Others

DURING the six months that Marie-Antoinette remained in the Temple after the death of her husband, numerous plans were formed to rescue her. At least one of these plots might have been successful if she had been willing to leave alone, without her children and her sister-in-law, but this she absolutely refused to do. She insisted that they must all be saved together.

On the third of July, her son, who was then a little boy of eight years, was taken from her and confided to the care of the cobbler Simon and his wife. Although the Dauphin was not treated by them in as barbarous a manner as generally represented by the Royalist writers, he certainly failed to receive the affectionate care and tender attentions to which he had been accustomed all his life. To Marie-Antoinette this was the greatest grief which she had yet been called upon to undergo.

The daring attempts of Batz and Maison-Rouge to communicate with the Queen and arrange her escape had attracted the notice of the Committee of General Security, and Fouquier-Tinville, the public accuser, was directed to make preparations for her trial. On the second day of August, at one o'clock in the morning, several policemen

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entered the chamber of the Queen, and notified her that the Convention had ordered her transferred to the Conciergerie. The decree was executed at once. Henriot, the commander of the Parisian troops, had massed a large body of men around the Temple; and an escort of twenty gendarmes awaited in the court. Marie-Antoinette dressed quickly, embraced her daughter and her sister-in-law, packed a small handbag, and followed her guardians. It was about three o'clock in the morning when the cortège arrived at the Conciergerie. The Queen was confined in a cell hastily prepared for her, which had been previously occupied by General Custine. It was a low, cold, damp room on the ground floor, situated at the end of a corridor. It is the room which to-day is occupied by the cantine of the prison of the Conciergerie. She was guarded by two gendarmes by the names of Gilbert and Dufresne, and two women were placed at her service, the octogenarian mother of the turnkey, and a young girl named Rosalie. The latter, who was simple and uneducated, showed herself very kind and attentive. The aged woman was soon replaced by another servant, the woman Harel, whom the Queen always distrusted.

The Conciergerie was, as the name indicates, the former porter's lodge of the royal palace of the kings of France, situated on the Isle de la Cité. The site is now occupied by the enormous buildings of the Palais de Justice, and all that remains of the old palace is the Conciergerie, which forms one of the wings, and the beautiful Sainte Chapelle, built by Saint Louis.

After the reign of Louis the Eleventh, the palace definitely ceased to be a royal residence, and became the seat of justice, that is to say of the Parlement, and of the different courts of the city.

The Revolutionary Tribunal, which had been instituted the 10 March 1793, upon the proposition of Danton, sat in the Palais de Justice, in the former large room of the Parlement of Paris. Constructed by Saint Louis, this hall formed, with the buildings of the Conciergerie, what was called the Petit-Palais. This room, which was originally

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the chamber of the King, became at a later date the throne-room; here Louis the Eleventh received the ambassadors, gave public audiences, and rendered justice to his subjects. By the irony of fate, it was from this hall that the Revolutionary Tribunal sent 2669 victims to the scaffold.

In the Conciergerie a new life began for Marie-Antoinette. She devoted most of her morning to the care of her toilette, which she never neglected. After her death, they found in her room a little box of pomade, a box of powder and a powder-puff. The authorities had refused her the use of a mirror, and Rosalie loaned her own every morning. Her wardrobe was not as limited as frequently represented. The authorities had sent her from the Temple a very good supply of underclothing, dresses, and other necessary articles. The food furnished her was very good. The provision dealers of the neighborhood took care to send her the daintiest morsels.

Her afternoons she passed in reading, two of her favorite books being "The Voyages of Captain Cook" and "The English Revolutions." She was allowed no light at night, and her evenings were passed in complete darkness. She undressed by the feeble light of a reflector in the women's court.

The worst of her trials was the constant espionage of which she was the object: the presence of the two gendarmes, who never allowed her out of their sight, and who watched her every movement. Nevertheless her guardians willingly closed their eyes upon the presence of certain visitors who, dressed in borrowed clothing, under pretext of curiosity, managed to enter the prison. This explains the curious fact, now well established, of the visit to Marie-Antoinette in her cell of a refractory priest, who said Mass, and gave the communion to the Queen and her guardians. This priest was the Abbé Magnin, who, dressed in the costume of a merchant, and under the name of Monsieur Charles, during the whole period of the Terror performed his religious functions, visiting all the prisons. He survived the Revolution and died after the Restoration.

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Even in the Conciergerie, plots were formed to rescue the Queen. But none of them came anywhere near success, and the details are so vague and so confused that it is impossible to say much on the subject.

A second cell is shown to-day to visitors as the place where the Queen was confined the last month of her life. This room had formerly served as the pharmacy; it was quite large, and had two grated windows, one looking out on the women's court and the other upon the infirmary. In this room the two guardians were placed behind a screen which permitted them to see everything.

The alleged discovery of a plot to rescue the Queen was the pretext for hastening her trial. On the second of September, at eleven o'clock in the evening, the Committee of Public Safety assembled secretly at the house of Pache, the mayor of Paris. The session lasted all night. The details of this meeting are known through a report sent to London by a secretary of the Committee, who had been bribed by the English Government. As a result of this all-night conference, the Committee resolved on the death of the Queen.

For a period of four weeks they endeavored in vain to draw up the indictment. They tortured with odious questions Madame Élisabeth, Madame Royale, and all the other witnesses that they could find who were familiar with the life of the Queen. The only evidence which they could obtain was drawn from the little Dauphin, who made an incriminating reply to a question which, in his innocence, he did not understand. Herman, the president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, forced the Queen to submit to a long and cruel examination, in which he brought up all the legends about her conduct: the hundred millions sent to Austria, the correspondence with the Émigrés, and the plots formed for the massacre of the people. To all the questions she replied calmly and in a dignified manner.

The tribunal which judged the Queen was composed of the president, four judges, the public accuser, the chief clerk, and fifteen jurymen. The president was

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Herman, and the public accuser, Fouquier-Tinville. The latter was born in 1746, the son of a rich farmer, in the neighborhood of Saint-Quentin. In his youth he affected a great deal of zeal for the Monarchy. He was named public accuser through the influence of Danton and Camille Desmoulins, both of whose heads he was to cause to fall on the scaffold. Nearly all classes of society figured among the members of the jury; and, almost without exception, the men who took part in the trial and condemnation of the Queen were themselves to perish on the scaffold.

The two avocats of Marie-Antoinette were Tronson and Chauveau. The former, born in 1750, was already celebrated as a lawyer before the Revolution. After the death of the Queen, he concealed himself until the end of the Terror. Elected as a member of the Council of the Ancients, he was, after the 18 Fructidor, deported to Cayenne, where he died. Chauveau also defended Charlotte Corday and Madame Élisabeth before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Later, he was prominent as a lawyer under the Empire, and during the reign of Charles the Tenth, dying in 1844 at the age of seventy-nine.

Most of the witnesses had been called on account of their supposed hostility to the Queen. Among the best known were: Estaing, who commanded the National Guard at Versailles in 1789; the Marquis de La Tour du Pin, a former Minister of War; Manuel, former procureur of the Commune; Bailly, at one time mayor of Paris; and finally Valazé, one of the leaders of the Gironde. None of the witnesses just named testified against the Queen with the exception of Valazé, who was condemned with the Girondins and committed suicide to escape the scaffold. All of the witnesses favorable to the Queen were destined to share her fate.

The trial began at the Palais de Justice on the 12 October and lasted for four days. Fouquier-Tinville prosecuted in person, and no less than forty witnesses were examined. On the fourteenth the hearing lasted without interruption from eight o'clock in the morning until four

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in the afternoon, then from five to eight in the evening, and again the following day from nine until three. During these seventeen mortal hours, the Queen, dressed in mourning, her hair carefully arranged, wearing a bonnet of linen trimmed with black crêpe, proud, majestic, seated opposite the prosecutor, endured without weakening the outrageous accusations, and the foolish questions of the president and the jury. Only once did she become indignant, when questioned regarding the monstrous admission obtained from her little son. Then, in response to the observation of a member of the jury, that she had not answered *this* accusation, she exclaimed with noble emotion: "I have not answered because Nature refuses to answer such a charge brought against a mother; I appeal to all the mothers who are here."

The speech of the public prosecutor occupied the evening of the fifteenth and a good part of the night. The session was not adjourned until four o'clock in the morning, for the meeting of the jury and the rendering of the verdict. It was a very cold morning, but a multitude of people awaited the news. The delay was not long, and it was soon known that the jury had unanimously voted for the death penalty.

The jury returned to the hall and the Queen was sent for. She listened without a word, without a gesture, to the reading of the sentence. She seemed "overwhelmed with astonishment" rather than with fear. When asked if she had any remarks to make regarding the sentence, she simply shook her head, opened the balustrade, and walked out in silence.

It was nearly five o'clock in the morning when the Queen returned to the Conciergerie, where she was confined in the cell of those condemned to death. She immediately asked for paper and ink, and obtained this favor which had been previously refused. With a firm hand, in her fine and neat handwriting, she then wrote a letter to her sister-in-law, which, still stained with tears, can be seen to-day in the National Archives. This letter is too long to quote, but towards the end can be read those

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words which seem to be a final thought addressed to one whose affection had been the supreme incident of her life: "I had some friends. The idea of being separated from them forever, and their grief, are the greatest regrets which I feel in dying. Let them at least know that, even in my last moments, I thought of them." She concludes her letter by expressing the hope that it may be received by her sister-in-law, but the letter never reached its destination. It was intercepted by Fouquier-Tinville, who forwarded it to Robespierre, among whose papers it was found by Courtois, after the 9 Thermidor. The latter appropriated it, and it was only after the Restoration that the letter was seized by the Royal Government.

Towards eight o'clock, the Queen wished to change her clothes before going to the scaffold. The guardians, in spite of her request, refused to leave her alone for a moment, and she was obliged to submit to this last affront.

Carlyle says: "Two Processions, or Royal Progresses, three-and-twenty years apart, have often struck us with a strange feeling of contrast. The first is of a beautiful Archduchess and Dauphiness, quitting her Mother's City, at the age of Fifteen, towards hopes such as no other Daughter of Eve then had. . . . The young imperial Maiden of Fifteen has now become a worn discrowned Widow of Thirty-eight, gray before her time: this is the last Procession."

On the 16 October 1793, from five o'clock in the morning, the drums were beating to arms in all the sections of Paris. At seven o'clock, thirty thousand troops were at their posts. Cannon were placed at the ends of all the bridges, and in all the cross-streets from the Palais de Justice to the Place de la Révolution. By ten o'clock, numerous patrols were circulating in the streets; and at the same hour the people in crowds were proceeding to the place of execution.

Since daybreak, the neighborhood of the Palais de Justice had been crowded by the curiosity-seekers. Eleven o'clock had been fixed as the hour for the departure of Marie-Antoinette, and a few minutes later she appeared.

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A cart was drawn up under the arcade near the grand staircase. The Queen could not suppress a movement of surprise: she had expected a fiacre. It was in a carriage that Louis had been conducted to the scaffold, and in a cab that she herself had been transferred from the Temple to the Conciergerie. She had also expected that, like the King, her hands would not be bound; but in this, too, she was to be disappointed. The cart was dirty, and for a seat there was only a bare plank.

The Queen was dressed in a déshabillé of white piqué and a black skirt; a fichu of white muslin around her neck; a linen bonnet, without streamers, or marks of mourning; black stockings and woollen slippers. Her hair was cut short in the neck.

She was accompanied by a Constitutional priest in lay dress, and was escorted by numerous detachments of infantry and cavalry. These, and the double lines of troops all along the route, she appeared to regard with indifference. On her countenance there was visible neither abashment nor pride. To the cries of "Vive la République" and "Down with Tyranny," which attended her all the way, she seemed to pay no heed; and she spoke little to her confessor.

The cart slowly traversed the Pont-au-Change, followed the quays as far as the Louvre, and then by the Rue du Roule entered the Rue Saint-Honoré, and finally reached the Rue Royale, by which it proceeded to the place of execution in the Place de la Révolution.

The painter David, who from a window saw her pass, has left us a realistic sketch, which is rather a caricature than a portrait. The future painter of the Coronation of the Emperor was then an ardent Jacobin, and his hand was guided by hate.

The Place de la Révolution was crowded with spectators; the terraces of the Gardens of the Tuileries were filled; and there were even curiosity-seekers in the branches of the trees of the Champs-Élysées.

The scaffold was placed on the east side of the square, between the Statue of Liberty and the Tuileries Gardens.

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The eyes of the Queen were turned for a moment towards the "Jardin National," formerly Tuileries, and her face at that moment gave signs of lively emotion. Marie-Antoinette descended from the cart without assistance, and with a firm step mounted the scaffold. There was no need for the drums of Santerre to cover the voice of the condemned, for the Queen had not a word to say. At exactly a quarter past twelve, her head fell in the basket; the executioner showed it to the people, amid universal, long-continued cries of "Vive la République!"

The day of the execution, the mutilated body of the Queen was taken to the little cemetery of the Madeleine, in the Rue d'Anjou, near the present Boulevard Haussmann, where the King had been buried. At a later date, a faithful Royalist bought the cemetery in order to preserve the site; and here, in a simple garden, unmarked by any monument, the remains of the unfortunate King and Queen rested until after the Restoration.

On the 18 January 1815, the work of searching for the graves began, and took two whole days. On the first day the remains of Marie-Antoinette were found, and on the second those of Louis the Sixteenth. On the 21 January, anniversary of the death of Louis, the remains of the King and Queen were transferred with royal honors to Saint-Denis. Among the former friends of the Queen who took part in the ceremony was the Marquise de Tourzel, governess of the Children of France, who shared her imprisonment in the Tuileries and in the Temple.

At this same time, the cell which Marie-Antoinette had occupied in the Conciergerie was marked by a plaque of black marble, bearing an inscription in Latin composed by the King, Louis the Eighteenth, the former Comte de Provence; and on the site of the cemetery in the Rue d'Anjou, the first stone was laid of the Chapelle Expiatoire, which was not completed until eleven years later. Here every year, on the 16 October, the anniversary of the death of the Queen, a solemn Mass is said.

"Before the story of agony written on that haggard, withered face, as shown in the pen and ink sketch made of

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her by David, criticism is forced to be silent. Marie-Antoinette had many faults, and committed many political mistakes; she was her husband's evil genius, and for that reason the evil genius of France also; but she expiated her errors by months and years of terrible suffering, and however necessary it may have been to point out her faults and mistakes in the course of this history, before the spectacle of her death no feelings but those of pity can be expressed." This emotion of instinctive sympathy, as expressed by Mr. Stephens, must be shared by all those, who, in all times, undertake in good faith the study of Marie-Antoinette. "Frivolous in prosperity, courageous in adversity, touching in her martyrdom," says Monsieur de Ségur, "her history is full of interest; her face presents all the traits which can please, charm, and move; and her name will fascinate the generations to come, as long as there are among us indulgent smiles for the imprudences of youth, tender looks for grace and beauty, and tears for misfortune."

Next came the turn of the Girondins, whose trial lasted from the 24 to the 30 October. Mention has already been made of the fate of those Girondin leaders who escaped from Paris, but some of the greatest orators and thinkers had refused to leave Paris and join the insurgents in Normandie, because they disapproved of civil war. Of the original twenty-nine deputies, ordered under arrest by the Convention on the second of June, twenty-one escaped and met with various fates; one was allowed to resign his seat in the Convention, while seven others, including Vergniaud, Gensonné, and Valazé, confident in their innocence, refused to leave Paris. But the insurrection, and still more the murder of Marat, exasperated the Jacobins against them, and on the 26 July, for fear of escape, they were removed from their own houses and confined in the Luxembourg, which was then first turned into a prison to receive them.

On the third of October, a formal accusation was made in the Convention against the whole Girondin party, and

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their trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal was demanded. Twenty-one were selected for immediate trial, namely, the seven just referred to, and fourteen others. These deputies were removed to the Conciergerie on the sixth of October, and on the twenty-fourth they were placed on trial in a body before four judges, presided over by Herman. In spite of their eloquent pleas, after a six days' trial they were all unanimously convicted, and condemned to death. On hearing the sentence, Valazé stabbed himself, and his dead body was taken back to the Conciergerie with the living prisoners. On the following day, the 31 October, the twenty condemned deputies were guillotined. After all, perhaps their fate was happier than that of their companions who had escaped, only to endure a lingering death in the south of France.

Soon after the death of the Queen, the Duc d'Orléans, Philippe-Égalité, went to the Conciergerie first and then to the scaffold. It was not a full year since he had helped to send his cousin, Louis the Sixteenth, to the guillotine. Here and there, amidst this orgy of judicial murder, we find some act of essential justice.

Nevertheless, Égalité was not so black as he has been painted by most of the writers upon the period of the Revolution. Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duc d'Orléans, was born at Saint-Cloud on the 13 April 1747. During the lifetime of his grandfather, until he was five years of age, he bore the title of Duc de Montpensier, and then that of Duc de Chartres until the death of his father in 1785.

Without speaking of his ancestor, Monsieur, the brother of Louis the Fourteenth, who was obedience and submission itself, his great-grandfather, the Regent, showed the greatest devotion to the young Louis the Fifteenth; his grandfather, who passed the last years of his life in an abbaye, was almost a saint; and his father was an amiable and lovable man, who took no interest in politics. With such models before him, the young prince did not seem likely to play the part of a revolutionary.

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He was much better educated than most of the young nobles of that period, and possessed a great facility of assimilation, with an active and acquisitive mind. At an early age he showed a taste for the arts, and a love of physical exercises. He had a tall and well-formed figure; an open countenance, and an agreeable expression; but in a few years debauchery played havoc with his looks and his physique. He was an expert in all kinds of exercises: a perfect horseman, an excellent fencer, and a fine dancer. Like the Regent, he took delight in disregarding the prejudices, the customs, and the convenances of the Court; and was carried away by his passion for pleasure.

In 1769 he married the only daughter of the Duc de Penthièvre, one of the greatest heiresses in France, whose fortune had been doubled the previous year by the premature death of her only brother, the Prince de Lamballe. Thus, by the irony of fate, the money which came from the illegitimate relations of the Grand Monarque and Madame de Montespan was to subsidize the Revolution. As though struck by a kind of presentiment, the King was very reluctant to give his consent to this union. The Duchesse, who was a charming woman, does not seem to have exercised much influence on his character. Orléans made frequent trips to London, where he became intimate with the Prince of Wales, the future George the Fourth. In England he acquired a taste for British opinions, manners and customs, which decidedly influenced his later career; and no one hailed with more enthusiasm than he the liberal ideas brought back from America by La Fayette.

In 1788 he disposed of many of the paintings of the splendid gallery of his palace, and devoted the eight million francs received from the sale to relieving the misery of the people during the terrible winter which followed. When we contrast this generosity with the prodigality of the Queen, and the apathy of the Court, it is not surprising that Orléans was so popular in Paris.

During the early years of the reign he was on very good terms with Marie-Antoinette, and one of her favor-

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ite companions in her parties of pleasure. In January 1777, he gave a splendid ball at the Palais-Royal in honor of the Queen. There are many explanations of his later antipathy for her, but it is not easy to find the real cause for that hostility. One account states that he was mortally offended because the Queen refused the hand of her daughter, Madame Royale, for his son, the Duc de Chartres, the future King Louis-Philippe, and gave the preference to the Duc d'Angoulême, the son of Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles the Tenth. After this his visits to Versailles were very infrequent, and he never occupied his apartment in the Château.

Elected deputy to the States-General by the noblesse, he ranged himself from the first on the side of the people. The outbreak of October was attributed, at least in part, to his influence, and by the advice of La Fayette he was sent on an ostensible diplomatic mission to London, where he remained until recalled by the Assembly in the following July.

On his return to Paris he became a regular attendant of the Jacobin Club, and invited to his table Danton and the members of the Cordeliers. No trace can be found of his actions in connection with the events of the 20 June or the 10 August.

As a member of the Constituent, like all of his colleagues, he was excluded from the Legislative Assembly, but was elected a member of the Convention, under the name of Philippe-Égalité. In that body, either through personal fear or sincere conviction, he voted for the death of the King, and against the appeal to the people, but his action did not save his own life.

On the 6 April 1793, by a decree of the Convention, all the members of the Bourbon family were placed under arrest, "to serve as hostages to the Republic." Three days later he was sent to Marseille, and all of his holdings were confiscated as national property. In September he was brought back to Paris and imprisoned in the Conciergerie. On the 6 November he was put on trial for treason to the Republic, and condemned, al-

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though no proofs could be brought against him. He heard his sentence without emotion; dined gaily, and went bravely to his death.

The Duc d'Orléans was a man of a good mentality, easy-going, more fond of pleasure than of fame, with little application for work; careless, extravagant, living from day to day: loving the table, the chase, the play; better fitted for the boudoir than for public place; feeble rather than bad; to be pitied almost as much as to be blamed — in short, a sad and striking example of what the Revolution could make of a character essentially weak.

Next came the turn of Manon Roland. She had been in prison since the month of June, and in her cell she had written her famous memoirs. On the eighth of November, dressed all in white, she was brought before her judges. One of her women friends saw her pass on her way to execution, "serene, cool, calm, smiling." As she mounted the scaffold her eyes fell on the Statue of Liberty, and she exclaimed, "Oh Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" She was no saint, but she was a great personality.

A few days later, her aged husband, hiding in a by-street of Rouen, heard the news of the death of Citizeness Roland shouted by the news-venders. The following morning, some four leagues from Rouen, on the road to Paris, there was found sitting, leaning against a tree, the figure of a wrinkled man, stiff now in the rigor of death, a sword-cane run through his heart. At his feet was this writing: "Whoever thou art that findest me lying, respect my remains: they are those of a man who consecrated all his life to being useful; and who has died as he lived, virtuous and honest."

On the tenth of November, in a cold, bitter, drizzling rain, poor Bailly, the first president of the National Assembly, and the first mayor of Paris, was led through the streets to his execution, while the howling populace covered him with curses and with mud. At last the procession reached the Champ-de-Mars, which at that time

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was used as a second place of execution. The mob demanded that his blood should not stain the place where the Altar of the Fatherland had been erected. So the guillotine was taken down, by hands numbed by the sleety rainfall, carried to the bank of the river, and there again set up. For hours the aged man waited amidst the torrent of curses and the bitter cold downpour. "Bailly, thou tremblest," said one. "Mon ami," said Bailly, "c'est de froid."

On the 28 November, Duport, the former Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, and Barnave, the famous orator of the Constituent Assembly, and friend of Marie-Antoinette, met the same fate.

And now the heads began to roll one upon the other into the headsman's basket. In December were sent to the guillotine: Madame du Barry, the former mistress of Louis the Fifteenth, who was condemned as a returned émigrée, because she had gone to London in search of her jewels, which had been stolen; and General Biron, the *ci-devant* Duc de Lauzun, and former general-in-chief of the Army of the Rhine. In January they were followed by old Marshal Lückner, and Jean Lamourette, who is best remembered by the incident of the "Baiser Lamourette."

"A strange mixture," says Madelin, "servants and great nobles, nuns and courtesans, soldiers and deputies of the three Assemblies. . . . The judges' eyes were growing fiercer: the accuser made his batches larger and larger. The executions became the daily entertainment of the idle element of the population. The Law of the Suspects kept the prisons packed."

And yet in this winter of 1793-1794, Paris had not yet experienced the "Great Terror," which was not let loose there until after Germinal (March).

CHAPTER NINETEEN

1794

THE END OF THE TERROR

Character of Robespierre — The New Revolutionary Calendar — Rivalry of Robespierre and Danton — Trial and Execution of Danton — Robespierre in Supreme Power — He Attacks Fouché — Barras, Tallien, and Fouché Plan the Overthrow of the Dictator — Tallien and Thérésia — The Last Days of the Terror — Robespierre's Final Speech in the Convention — His Arrest with Four of His Followers — The Final Scene at the Hôtel-de-Ville — Barras Commands the Troops of the Convention — Robespierre and His Followers Executed

AFTER the execution of the Girondins, now that Marat was out of the way, the two great rivals, Robespierre and Danton, stood face to face. Danton was passing through a period of terrible mental distress. The condemnation of the Girondins had filled him with consternation, and he was sickened by the Terror. As if exhausted by his mighty efforts in 1792 and 1793, he took but little part in the debates of the Convention. His apathy astonished all his colleagues. One night a friend remarked in his presence: "Ah! if I were Danton!" "Danton sleeps," was the sudden answer, "but he will wake up yet!" But his great enemy Robespierre never slept.

The character of Maximilien, the "Man of Virtue," is difficult to describe. A virtuous man he certainly was, upright, chaste, moral. He was not so ugly as he has generally been described: no authentic picture of him reveals that "cat-face" of which Buzot spoke. His portrait by Danloux shows us a comely youth, by no means unprepossessing, his nose and mouth just a trifle too wide; light green eyes glistening behind his blue spectacles. He was

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the perfection of neatness, his hair curled and powdered, his face clean-shaven, his thin little body buttoned into a blue or chestnut-colored coat worn over a kerseymer waistcoat and an embroidered shirt. This *sans-culotte*, too proud to sacrifice his appearance to Republican simplicity, wore silk breeches; and his garments remained spotless until that hideous morning of the 10 Thermidor on which we shall see them spattered with his own blood.

His greatest fault, the most odious feature of his character, was his jealousy, which led him to add constantly to the number of his enemies. In the Convention he had but few friends: Saint-Just, Le Bas, Couthon, his brother Augustin, and perhaps David. His chief associate was Saint-Just, who was described by Barère as "a mind of fire, a heart of ice." "To found the republic of his dreams," wrote one of his friends, "he would have sacrificed his own head, and also the heads of a hundred thousand other men." He was devoted to the "Master," and served him well.

A fanatic, too, was young Le Bas, who devoted his whole life to Robespierre, and then died for his sake.

Robespierre, who was exceedingly conservative in all social matters, viewed with disapproval the efforts of Hébert and Fouché in favor of a communistic revolution, and finally decided that the moment had come to put a stop to them. Another movement, emanating from the same quarter, not only offended but even scandalized him: these people had set out to dechristianize the country, and establish the triumph of *Reason*.

The Convention also showed little inclination to favor this campaign, to which a considerable impetus had been given by the Revolutionary Calendar just adopted. Under the new arrangement there were to be twelve equal months of thirty days each, and the five odd days remaining were to be festivals. The year was to commence on the 22 September, the date that the Republic was proclaimed. The new names of the months were Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, and so on, the three just mentioned meaning, month of the vintage, of fogs, and of

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frost, respectively. Each month was to be divided into three *décades*, the tenth or last day, called *décadi*, to be a day of rest. This in brief was the new calendar, which remained in force until it was abolished by Napoleon on the first day of January 1806.

Robespierre was now determined to overthrow the two opponents who stood in his way, Danton and Hébert. According to his wont, he procrastinated, but watched for his opportunity. After some deliberation, he came to the conclusion that, as Danton had many friends in the Convention, the wisest course would be to begin by striking at Hébert and his followers. This man Jacques Hébert represented everything that Robespierre most detested. He was a real power in the Commune, and was the editor of "*Père Duchesne*," a scurrilous sheet which was more read than any other Paris newspaper. With Hébert overthrown, the newspaper suppressed, the Commune of Hébert dissolved, and the Robespierrist Commune set up, the attack on Danton could be made, and the Convention would be forced to submit.

During the winter the French armies had been everywhere victorious, and Danton felt that the time had come for the adoption of a lenient policy at home and a pacific policy abroad. This attitude made him even more odious in the eyes of Robespierre, who thought that war was vital to the success of his policy of Public Safety.

Robespierre put pressure on the Committee, and its spokesman, Barère, asked the Convention to proclaim its intention of carrying on the war to the bitter end. A decree was adopted, declaring that "the tyrants are still threatening us"; and Robespierre proceeded to draw the conclusion that the tyrants were threatening only because they had "accomplices" inside the country. In a lengthy speech, which was much applauded, he said that the Convention must "stifle all these enemies, within and without."

Danton felt that the blow was aimed at him as much as at Hébert. With his usual frankness he sought an interview with Robespierre and asked for an explanation.

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He asserted that there must be an end of the Terror, in which "the innocent were confounded with the guilty." Robespierre retorted: "Who told you, pray, that a single innocent person had been put to death?" Danton, exasperated by such a piece of abominable hypocrisy, abruptly left the room.

Robespierre now craftily laid his plans for Danton's ruin, and began by assailing his chief supporters. Danton realized his danger, as he saw his friends swept away. At the first performance of "*Épicharis et Néron*," the two foes came face to face: Robespierre was in a box, Danton was seated in the orchestra. When an actor spoke the words "Death to the tyrant!" Danton turned towards Robespierre and shook his fist at him. Scenes such as these hurried on the crisis.

Robespierre first struck at Hébert. On the tenth of March, Hébert and six of his supporters were arrested in their homes and sent to prison. They were charged with being accomplices of Pitt and Cobourg, and secret supporters of a dictatorship which they intended to bestow on Pache.

Their trial began the 21 March and lasted five days. All were found guilty and sent to the scaffold.

On the 14 March, when Hérault, Danton's only supporter in the Committee, appeared at the Pavillon de Flore, he was curtly dismissed by Robespierre. He was immediately arrested, tried, and sentenced to the guillotine.

The turn of Danton came next. He had a strong following in the Convention; he might have made a good defence, and even turned the tables on his enemy. But his apathy seemed to grow greater from day to day.

On the 30 March, the two Committees held a joint session. Saint-Just said that if they did not guillotine Danton, they would all be guillotined themselves. One of the members of the Committee of Security sent a warning to Danton. Even then he might have gone to the Convention, and from the rostrum made one of those speeches

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with which he had so often thrilled the Assembly. But he sat at home over the fire and took no action. At six o'clock on the following morning he was arrested in his own house. Desmoulins and all his prominent adherents followed him to prison.

In Paris the news was received with stupor. The Convention also was profoundly agitated. Some of Danton's friends tried to stir up their colleagues to revolt. Robespierre took a high tone: "We shall see this day whether the Convention will be able to destroy a pretended idol long since rotted away, or whether in its fall it will crush the Convention and the people of France!" The friends of Danton, thoroughly frightened, did not venture to say anything more. A decree sent all the prisoners before the Tribunal.

The trial began on the second of April. The night before, Danton said at the Conciergerie: "It was at this time of the year that I had the Revolutionary Tribunal set up; I pray God and men to forgive me for it."

The plea of Danton before the Tribunal was so eloquent that Fouquier thought that all was lost. He sent a note to the Committee asking for a decree that would silence the defence. When this decree was read aloud in court, the public murmured. Danton tried to protest, but Herman closed the proceedings. The next day all the accused were condemned to death. Danton exclaimed: "Vile Robespierre! The scaffold claims you, too. *You will follow me!*"

Within three months he followed him!

It was glorious weather the day that Danton went to his death. An observer has told us how Danton's "huge round head fixed its proud gaze on the dull crowd." David, who had sketched Marie-Antoinette on her way to execution, sat on the terrace of a café sketching Danton and his fellow-prisoners. In his rage Danton shook his fist at his old friend and shouted, "Lackey!" It was late when the procession reached the scaffold, and darkness was falling on Paris when the last head fell into the basket.

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Robespierre was now master of France, and the Cabinets of Europe seemed to believe that he would put an end to the Revolution. But Robespierre was not dreaming of anything of the kind. The only thought of his mediocre brain and narrow soul was to protect himself against his enemies, "whom he discovered on every side." To destroy them he kept the guillotine constantly employed. The whole country appeared doomed to the scaffold. Just before Thermidor every one seemed to be in prison. General Hoche was there, and Kellermann, the victor of Valmy; Thérésia Cabarrus, the mistress of Tallien, and Joséphine de Beauharnais; members of the three Revolutionary Assemblies, and men and women of the best blood in France, many of whom were destined to lie in that cemetery of the Madeleine which had already received the ashes of Louis and Marie-Antoinette, of Danton and Charlotte Corday.

For the moment Robespierre seemed to be supreme. The members of the two great Committees were under the yoke. Through his henchmen and his creatures he ruled the Commune and controlled the Tribunal. The Army of Paris was devoted to him, for it was commanded by that scoundrel Hanriot. The members of the Convention still stood behind him, but murmurs had arisen, and he was soon to hear the muttering of the storm.

The first mistake made by the dictator was an attack on Joseph Fouché, the president of the Jacobin club, whom he charged with being at the head of a conspiracy against him. Fouché realized that, if the tyrant himself did not fall, the time had come for himself and a whole group of his friends. Fouché was no Danton: underground plots were his *forte*. Here were a lot of terrified men, all trembling for their own heads: he brought all these hates and fears together and built up a strong opposition to the dictator.

Joseph Fouché, the future Minister of Police, and Duc d'Otranto, under the Empire, was the son of a merchant captain, and was born near Nantes the 19 September 1754. His health was too delicate for him to fol-

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low the profession of his father, so after the completion of his education he devoted himself to teaching. He was a tutor in the military college at Vendôme, and professor of mathematics in the famous Oratorian college at Juilly; he also took minor orders. In September 1792 he was elected to the Convention from Loire-Inférieure. He made no mark in that assembly, but gained a great reputation the following year by his vigor as a representative on mission. This led to his selection by the Committee of Public Safety as the principal coadjutor of Collot d'Herbois in punishing the city of Lyon after the insurrection there was suppressed. The butchery was horrible: in all nearly two thousand victims perished on the guillotine, among them many priests and former nobles.

After his return to Paris, this future millionaire took a prominent part in the Socialistic movement, which first brought him into conflict with Robespierre. He also favored the abolishment of the Christian worship, and the substitution of the cult of Reason.

Robespierre foresaw his danger and his answer was swift. On the 10 June, Couthon brought forward a proposal intended to deliver the last of Robespierre's enemies into his hands. Prisoners were to have no more lawyers to defend them, and the juries were to sentence them in batches. This meant the handing over of the fate of every accused person to the Public Prosecutor, who was known to be ruled by Robespierre. Hitherto no representative of the people could be brought before the Tribunal without the authorization of the Convention: *in future it was to be done on the mere order of the Committees*. This was a blow aimed at Fouché, Tallien, and Barras; and many others also felt that they were threatened. This last measure met with almost unanimous opposition in the Convention, but Robespierre, with his strange hypnotic power, terrorized his opponents, and within half an hour the law was passed. The following day the Convention revolted and repealed the decree, but again reënacted it upon the demand of the dictator.

Armed with his new law, Robespierre began his opera-

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tions at once. On the evening of the 11 June Robespierre attacked Fouché in the Jacobins. Fouché, who was no orator, made a poor defence, and left the hall; but he quietly began to plot his revenge.

The seven weeks between the 23 Prairial (11 June) and the 9 Thermidor were horrible. It was nothing more nor less than a massacre: in the course of forty-nine days 1376 heads fell in Paris, an average of nearly 200 a week. "Everybody lived under the watchful eye of a merciless police," says Madelin. "Fear was on every side; drawing-rooms were empty; wine shops were deserted; the very courtesans ceased to go to the Palais-Royal, where virtue now reigned supreme. . . . The Convention was well-nigh deserted; the deputies had given up sleeping at home."

Opposition was crushed, but there were not more than half a dozen men in all upon whom Robespierre could rely: Saint-Just, Le Bas, and Couthon, his three favorite henchmen, and his agents, Fleuriot the Mayor, Herman, the Minister of the Interior, and Fouquier, the Public Prosecutor.

The position of Robespierre was very much weakened by the fact that the country was no longer in danger and that the excuse for the Terror had passed away. The victory of Fleurus, on the 26 June, had reassured the mind of France; a plan for the invasion of Italy was being prepared: on every side Europe was falling back. The Convention was still under the control of the Committee of Public Safety, and Robespierre's enemies at last perceived that in order to win they must disrupt the Committee itself, and attack the dictatorship from within.

The Committee was now hostile to Robespierre. With the exception of his faithful adherent Le Bas, and David, who could not be relied upon, all the members detested "the tyrant." Realizing the increasing hostility, Robespierre had ceased to attend the meetings. On the 28 June he recalled Saint-Just, who was then on a mission with the armies. He had the names of Fouché and several others struck off the list of the Jacobin Club; but Fouché

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only carried on his underground campaign more vigorously than ever. Heads were at stake everywhere, and there was no time to lose: the victory would probably belong to the party which struck the first blow. It was quite evident that it was to be a fight to the finish, and both sides were resolved to strike at the first possible moment.

A rising in Paris in support of Robespierre was being prepared for the 10 Thermidor (28 July), and the dictator, under pressure from Saint-Just, consented to prepare the way by the delivery of a great speech in the Convention on the eighth. In the meantime, Fouché had not relaxed his efforts, and he was ably assisted by Tallien. According to a well-authenticated story, Thérésia had sent him word from her prison that she was about to die, "thanks to his arrant cowardice."

Jean-Lambert Tallien, who was born at Paris in 1769, was barely four and twenty when he was sent with Isa-beau, a former Oratorian, to exercise all the rigors of the Terror in the department of the Gironde. He had begun life as a lawyer's clerk, and had been conspicuous at Paris throughout the Revolution. His activities on the 10 August secured his election as secretary of the Commune, and finally as deputy to the Convention. But with all his bluster, and his ferocious speeches, he was by nature soft-hearted, and ordered but few executions. During his reign at Bordeaux only 123 individuals lost their lives on the guillotine. This mildness has been generally attributed to the romantic influence exercised over him by Thérésia Fontenoy, the most beautiful woman of her time. She was the daughter of Francis Cabarrus, a famous banker and finance minister of Spain. In 1788, when only fourteen years old, she was married to the elderly Comte de Fontenoy, a councillor of the Parlement of Bordeaux. During the early days of the Revolution her wit and beauty made her a favorite in the salons of Paris. Later she attempted with her husband to escape to her father in Spain, but they were arrested at Bordeaux as suspects, and it was there that she first met Tallien. He fell in love with her, and released her husband on condition that he

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should apply for a divorce. She then became at first the mistress and later the wife of the proconsul. Many persons, including Madame de La Tour du Pin, owed their lives to her intercession. In her "Recollections," the Marquise thus describes Thérésia:

"Madame de Fontenoy was then not more than twenty years of age. A more beautiful human being had never issued from the hands of the Creator. All her features bore the imprint of the most regular and artistic perfection. Her hair, black as ebony, seemed made of the finest silk, and her brilliant complexion was as clear as ivory. An enchanting smile displayed the most admirable teeth. Her tall form recalled that of Diane Chasseresse. The least movement revealed an incomparable grace, while her voice, which was harmonious and slightly marked by a foreign accent, exercised a charm which no words can express."

The clemency of Tallien was by no means pleasing to the Committee, and to defend himself he returned to Paris in March 1794, whither he was followed by Thérésia, who was immediately imprisoned in La Force as a suspect.

When Robespierre slowly ascended the steps of the rostrum, on the 8 Thermidor, the excitement in the Convention was intense. His speech, which had been carefully prepared, has been preserved to us. Feeling himself sure of the support of the deputies, he hit at all his enemies on every side. He made a bitter criticism of the financial situation, of the management of the war, and of the Terror itself. The Convention, as if in a stupor, listened in dead silence. The attacks on Cambon and his finances, on Carnot and his armies, and on the two Committees, filled his hearers with bewilderment and alarm. But the persons whom he had assailed did not intend, like Danton, to be overthrown without a struggle. Cambon flew to the rostrum, and fiercely attacked the dictator: "One man alone paralyzes the will of the Convention: that man is Robespierre!" The excitement continued to increase. It was stated that a list of proscribed persons had already

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been made out, and the Convention demanded to know the names. Robespierre, who was intimidated, refused to mention any names. The sitting closed at five o'clock: "Robespierre had lost the first game of the rubber."

The night was beautiful after a sweltering day, and Robespierre went for a walk in the Champs-Élysées. Then he betook himself to the Club where he received a great ovation.

There are many descriptions of the scene of disorder and dismay presented that night at the meeting of the Committee. At eleven o'clock Collot, in wild excitement, hurried in from the Jacobin Club. The members were gathered around the celebrated "green table," and through the open door Saint-Just was to be seen writing in the adjoining room. In reply to an inquiry from Collot, he answered boldly that he was drawing up their accusation. At five o'clock in the morning, he coolly took his leave, as full of confidence as his leader, and went for a gallop in the Bois de Boulogne.

The day was hot and close: by noon the temperature had risen to 96 degrees Fahrenheit. The Convention met in a state of great excitement. Negotiations between the different parties had been going on all night. The galleries were full of the adherents of Robespierre: they greeted his arrival with wild applause. He was soon joined by Saint-Just, who at once left him to mount the rostrum. But the friend of the dictator was only allowed time to pronounce two sentences before he was rudely interrupted by Tallien and pushed from his place. Billaud then took possession of the rostrum and denounced the scene at the Jacobin Club on the preceding night. Le Bas tried in vain to speak: the enemies of Robespierre had sworn to stifle the voices of all his friends. Billaud continued his attacks, and the tumult was tremendous. Collot, who was presiding over the sitting, rang his bell continuously.

Robespierre himself made a rush to the rostrum, but a mighty shout drove him back to his seat. "Down with the tyrant!" was the cry. Tallien waved a dagger in his

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hand and declared that he himself would pierce the breast of the dictator if the Convention had not the courage to decree his accusation. The deputies were not yet brave enough to strike at Robespierre himself, but they ordered the arrest of three of his principal henchmen, Boulanger, Hanriot and Dumas. Once again Robespierre tried to speak and once more he was howled down. Finally, with a desperate effort, he succeeded in making himself heard: "For the last time, will you give me leave to speak, *President of assassins!*" The tyrant had insulted the Convention: no other pretext was necessary for his arrest. Then things moved swiftly. A decree was voted for the arrest of Robespierre and his brother, Saint-Just, Le Bas, and Couthon: a moment later the gendarmes were in the hall and the five men were prisoners. At five o'clock the exhausted Assembly, which had been sitting since seven o'clock in the morning, finally adjourned.

The Convention thought that the battle was won, but it was mistaken. By seven o'clock the wheel of fortune had taken a last turn and Robespierre was once more on top. When Fleuriot, the mayor, heard the news from the Convention, he had the gates to the city closed and the tocsin rung; he summoned the Council-General of the Commune, and forbade any jailer to accept the custody of the victims. The mob was soon gathered on the Place de Grève, but there was no military leader to direct them. Unfortunately for Robespierre, Hanriot had been break-fasting freely in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, and was quite drunk. Two more of Robespierre's followers, Payan, the National Agent, and Dumas, the president of the Tribunal, had been arrested and safely confined.

In the meantime, the jailers having absolutely refused to receive the prisoners, the Mayor had invited the "martyrs" to come to the Hôtel-de-Ville. Soon there were gathered there, Robespierre and his brother Augustin, Saint-Just and Le Bas, to be joined later by Couthon.

While these events were happening at the Hôtel-de-Ville, the Committees of Public Safety and of General

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Security, and the Convention, were in a state of terror, believing that all was lost. In this emergency, the Convention appealed to Barras, and under his leadership a delegation of six deputies was directed to proceed to the Hôtel-de-Ville and enforce the decree of the Convention.

The fact that Robespierre was not a man of action became very apparent at this crisis: he dared not adopt any definite course. While he hesitated, the emissaries of the Convention were hurrying from one Section to another, and rallying them all to its cause. While a disorganized mob hung helplessly around the Hôtel-de-Ville, the Sections sent their battalions to the Tuileries, and the Convention soon had a little army of its own. Barras took command, and led his troops along the quays to the Place de Grève.

Towards midnight, the mob at the Hôtel-de-Ville heard that the Sections were going over to the Convention, and was much disheartened. The rain, which had been threatening ever since midday, began to fall in torrents. This was an excuse for the crowd to take its departure, and by one o'clock the Place was well-nigh deserted.

At last, when it was too late, Robespierre made up his mind to sign the call to arms. The paper is still preserved in the National Archives. At the foot we see the beginning of a signature, the first two letters, Ro . . . The bloodstained paper tells the rest of the story. At this moment the gendarmes from the Convention broke into the room, and some one fired a shot: the bullet struck Robespierre and fractured his jaw. It is not known positively whether he tried to commit suicide, or was wounded by the gendarme Méda, but it is highly probable that he shot himself.

A terrible scene followed: Le Bas blew out his brains; Robespierre's brother Augustin, in trying to escape, fell from the cornice and was shattered in every limb; Saint-Just alone allowed himself to be arrested quietly. Couthon was found hiding under a table, and taken into custody.

Robespierre was conveyed to the Convention, which re-



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fused to admit him to its presence. Covered with blood, he was thrown on a table in the room used by the Committee of Public Safety. A few hours later all the prisoners were removed to the Conciergerie.

The following day the "outlaws" were brought before the Tribunal, not for trial, but for identification only: their fate was already sealed. Fouquier, who was present, was livid with fear: he knew that his time had come.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the twenty-two outlaws climbed into four tumbrils. From the Conciergerie the procession followed the usual course through the crowded Rue Saint-Honoré. The mob was in high spirits; the sky had cleared after the storm, and there was life in the air.

At seven o'clock the scaffold was reached. One after another, the heads fell under the axe. Robespierre was the twentieth prisoner to mount the scaffold; Fleuriot, the mayor, came last of all. A mighty cry of joy went up from the one hundred thousand beings massed in the square. The party leaders looked upon the death of Robespierre and his associates merely as a political incident, but the people regarded the matter very differently. Robespierre had been the incarnation of the Terror, and, in the view of many, of the Revolution itself. Therefore, his downfall must mean the end of the Terror, and perhaps of the Revolution also. It was thus an event of tremendous importance. A new phase was about to open in the history of the Revolution.

CHAPTER TWENTY

1794-1795

THE GENERAL WAR

The Siege of Toulon — Distinguished Services of Bonaparte — The Republican Armies — The Great Committee of Public Safety — The Military Committee — Carnot and Prieur — Representatives on Mission — The Northern Army — Jourdan — Armies of the Moselle and the Rhine — Pichegru — Hoche — Saint-Just and Le Bas — Army of the Alps — Loss of Corsica — The Republican Generals — Campaign of 1794 — Operations of the Northern Army — Battle of Fleurus — Belgium Reconquered — Holland Overrun — Peace with Tuscany, Prussia, Holland and Spain — French Reverses on the Rhine — Armistice with Austria

AT the close of the year 1793, the Allies had recovered possession of Belgium, and of Mayence on the Rhine; in the Alps, on the Riviera, and along the Spanish frontier there was not much change in the military situation. The only decided French advantage was the recapture of Toulon, on which occasion Napoleon Bonaparte, then a major of artillery, made his first appearance on the scene of History.

In August, the inhabitants of the city had hoisted the white flag of the Bourbons, and asked Lord Hood, the English admiral commanding in the Mediterranean, to come to their assistance. He at once accepted the invitation, and entered the port with his vessels, and the allied Spanish fleet with which he was cruising. Hood brought three regiments from Gibraltar, one of them under the command of Colonel, afterwards General Sir, John Moore; and the Spanish admiral, Langara, brought 3000 men from Barcelona. With these forces the Allies defended the city for over four months.

At that time Toulon was considered one of the strong-

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est fortresses in the world, and the news of its occupation by the English was received with great indignation by the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety. Immediate steps were taken to recapture the city. Barras and his colleagues ordered up the troops of Carteaux, about 3300 men, who had just taken Marseille, and also the greater part of the Army of Italy from the frontier. Carteaux was soon superseded in command by Dugommier. The French officer in charge of the artillery was wounded in an early skirmish, and was succeeded on the 18 September by Captain Bonaparte of the Fourth Regiment, who was appointed to be *chef de bataillon*, or major, commanding the siege artillery in chief.

The arrival of the troops from the Army of Italy brought up the numbers of the besieging army to 8000 men, a force quite inadequate to retake the town. In this dilemma it was Bonaparte who pointed out that the harbor was commanded by a promontory extending out between the two roadsteads, and that the allied fleets would be forced to retire as soon as this point was in the possession of the French. On the 18 December, after a bombardment of three days, the English works on the point were taken by assault. Bonaparte distinguished himself by his bravery, and received a severe bayonet thrust in the leg, the only wound of any consequence in his long military career. The enemy immediately evacuated the town, after blowing up the magazines and setting fire to the French vessels in the harbor, and at seven o'clock on the morning of the 19 December the Republicans entered the city. As a reward for his services during the siege Bonaparte was immediately promoted to be general of brigade, and in January was made Inspector of Coasts, with headquarters at Nice.

Before speaking of the justly celebrated triumphs of the French soldiers during the two following years, it may be well to consider how the armies were composed, organized, and led to victory.

As already stated, the military policy of the Constituent

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Assembly had resulted in the complete disorganization of the old Royal army, and during the summer of 1792 the French troops were everywhere defeated. These reverses were followed by the overthrow of the throne, the proclamation of the Republic, and the victory of Valmy. Then came the conquest of Belgium, and the occupation of Mayence, Savoie and Nice, which to the patriotic orators was conclusive proof that the untrained French levies were superior to the mercenaries of the kings. But statesmen realized that the easy victories of the French generals were due mainly to the carelessness and over-confidence of their foes, and that reverses must be expected when the Allies began to exert their full strength. The defeats of the spring and summer of 1793 showed that this view was correct. It has already been pointed out that these defeats led to the organization of the great Committee of Public Safety. But the two famous victories of Hondschoote and Wattignies, which followed, did not definitely turn the tide of victory in favor of France, though they led the way to it. To the constructive powers of the great Committee were due the measures which transformed the patriotic mob that followed Dumouriez, Custine and Montesquiou, into the splendid armies of Pichegru, Moreau and Bonaparte.

No change was made by the Legislative Assembly in the military system devised by the Constituent Assembly. Carnot and his able associates on the military committee had no power to act except in matters of detail. The conduct of the war on the frontiers was left entirely to the commanding officers, under the general supervision of the War Office at Paris.

All this was altered by the Convention. A Military Committee was appointed; and the Committee of Public Safety was created, which directed the armies in the field through the deputies on mission. In April 1793, Bouchotte was appointed Minister of War and retained his portfolio until the abolition of all the ministries a year later. He was an ex-officer of the army, and proved himself an able administrator.

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Many of the members of the Military Committee became prominent at a later date: Barras, Carnot and Le Tourneur were Directors; Milhaud was a famous general under Napoleon; and Dubois and Pontécoulant became senators of the Empire.

As always happens when responsibility is divided, the dual administration of the War Office and the Military Committee was not a success, and supreme power was finally granted to the Committee of Public Safety, which directed all military operations through representatives on mission. Most of the powers of the great Committee, however, were exercised by two engineer officers of the old Royal army: Carnot, who directed the operations of the armies in the field, and well deserved his title of "organizer of victory"; and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, who looked after the supply of war *matériel*. They were ably assisted by the Topographical Committee, in whose office Napoleon himself was employed at a later date.

The representatives on mission with the armies had to bear great responsibilities, and it is a wonder that so many men should have been found to do the work so well. Most of them were lawyers, and only a few were officers of the old army. The great services rendered by Merlin of Thionville and Reubell at Mayence have already been mentioned; and it is impossible to give here a list of all the famous deputies who acted in this capacity.

By far the largest and best equipped body of troops was the Northern Army, which had defeated the English and Austrians in October 1793, and driven them across the frontier. This was under the command of Jourdan, the future marshal of the Empire.

Jean-Baptiste Jourdan was the son of a surgeon, and was born at Limoges in 1762. After the death of his father he was sent to Lyon, where his uncle, a silk merchant, tried to bring him up in his business. But the boy did not like commerce, and in 1778 he ran away and enlisted in the regiment of Auxerre. His regiment was at once ordered to America, and he served throughout the Revolutionary War. On his return he left the army, and

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set up a draper's shop in his native city. At the commencement of the Revolution he was elected a lieutenant in the National Guard, and in 1792 became colonel of a volunteer battalion. He distinguished himself in the Belgian campaigns, and especially at Jemmapes. In May 1793 he was made general of brigade, and two months later was promoted to general of division. In September, Carnot gave him the command of the Northern Army, with which he won the victory of Wattignies, and drove the Austrians out of France. But he refused to advance into Belgium while the enemy held the great fortresses of Condé and Valenciennes, and in January 1794 was superseded by Pichegru.

Next to the Northern Army, upon the eastern frontier, were the armies of the Moselle and of the Rhine, which were under separate commands in the autumn of 1793, but were soon to be amalgamated. Early in August, Alexandre de Beauharnais, the husband of Joséphine, had been relieved of the command of the Army of the Rhine for not having made greater efforts to save Mayence. After two other generals had proved incompetent, the army was finally put under the command of Pichegru.

Charles Pichegru was born in the Jura in 1761, and was the son of a laborer. He was educated at the college of Arbois, his native place, and was later an instructor at the military school of Brienne during the time that Napoleon was a pupil there. In 1783 he enlisted in the First Regiment of Artillery, in which he rose to the highest rank possible for a non-commissioned officer. After the beginning of the Revolution he was elected lieutenant-colonel of a battalion of volunteers, and was rapidly promoted, becoming general of division in October 1793.

At this same time the Army of the Moselle was commanded by a young general named Lazare Hoche, who was perhaps the most brilliant and the most promising of all the Republican officers. He was born at Montreuil in 1768, of very poor parents. At the age of seventeen he enlisted in the Gardes Françaises, and soon received the

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rank of sergeant. He won great distinction in the campaigns of 1792 and 1793. In September 1793 he became general of brigade, and six weeks later he was appointed to the command of the Army of the Moselle.

The loss of Mayence had been followed by a series of disasters. The Austrians, under Marshal Wurmser, invaded Alsace, and carried the famous lines of Wissembourg. The news of this reverse caused a profound sensation at Paris, and the Committee of Public Safety sent one of its members, Saint-Just, to the scene of the disaster, with supreme power. Accompanied by a young deputy named Philippe Le Bas, Saint-Just reached Strasbourg on the 24 October, and by his vigor soon changed the aspect of affairs. Pichegru was appointed commander-in-chief, and discipline was soon restored in the army. A combined forward movement of the armies of Hoche and of Pichegru was signalized by two victories the middle of November. The latter part of December, Hoche, who was now in supreme command of the two armies, won a great victory at Geisberg, and finally drove the invaders out of Alsace.

The next army in geographical order was that of the Alps, which was the weakest of all. After the conquest of Savoie, Kellermann had succeeded to the command. The army was too weak to attempt an invasion of Italy, and confined its efforts to guarding the frontier.

After the evacuation of Toulon in December 1793, Admiral Hood proceeded to Corsica. In June of that year, the island, which had been organized as a French department, had renounced its allegiance, and the Corsican Republic had been proclaimed with Paoli as president. Within a week the French garrisons were driven from every town except Bastia and Calvi. These two places were bravely defended by the French, but were eventually taken by storm by the British sailors under Captain Horatio Nelson, who lost an eye at Calvi. The sovereignty of the island remained in the hands of the British until the victories of Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy in 1796 made it necessary for them to withdraw.

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The first generals of the Republic had been mainly officers of the old Royal army, like Custine and Beauharnais, but distrust of commanders of noble birth had soon led to their replacement by men risen from the ranks, such as Jourdan, Hoche and Pichegru. It was during these early campaigns of the Republic that the most famous generals of the Empire made their reputation: Vandamme and Macdonald, in the army of the North; Ney, Davout and Bernadotte in that of the Ardennes; Soult, Lefebvre and Bessières in that of the Moselle; Oudinot and Saint-Cyr in that of the Rhine; Augereau, Pérignon, Victor and Moncey in the two armies of the Pyrenees; and Masséna, Suchet, Joubert, Sérurier, and Bonaparte in the Army of Italy.

At the opening of the year 1794, the military situation remained practically the same as during the last month of the year before. The *levée en masse*, decreed in August 1793, had enabled Carnot to organize a great force of 500,000 men, and place it in position on the frontiers. The Northern Army, of three corps, under Pichegru, was to reconquer the Netherlands. The Army of the Moselle and the Rhine was to operate against Mayence.

The Northern Army, of 200,000 men, covered the frontier from Dunkerque and Lille to Maubeuge and Mézières. The allied army of 155,000 men was posted as follows: before Maubeuge stood Kaunitz with 25,000 Austrians; at Mons, Cobourg with 100,000 Prussians; and on the Scheldt, Clerfayt with 30,000 Austrians.

Pichegru had orders to make a concentric advance on Brussels from Dunkerque, Cambrai and Mézières. Between the 10 May and the 12 June the French army crossed the Sambre no less than five times, and was as often forced to retreat across the river. Finally, on the 18 June, Jourdan, who had been detached with 50,000 men from the Army of the Moselle, again crossed the Sambre, laid siege once more to Charleroi, and took up a semi-circular position about twenty miles long from the Sambre to Fleurus. On the 25 June Charleroi surrendered, and the same evening Cobourg arrived from Tournai with

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100,000 men. On the following day was fought the battle of Fleurus, which lasted from five o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock at night, and resulted in the loss of 6000 French and 10,000 of the enemy. During the day, Co-bourg learned of the fall of Charleroi, so he ordered a retreat to Brussels.

By a decree of the 29 June, the victorious corps of the armies of the North, the Ardennes and the Moselle, were given the name of the Army of the Sambre-et-Marne. Pichegru, having taken Ostende on the first of July, arrived before Brussels, a little later than Jourdan, on the ninth, and the following day entered the city as general-in-chief.

Pichegru then drove back the demoralized Anglo-Dutch army to the north, and Jourdan pursued the Austrians to the east: on the 27 July, the former entered Antwerp, and the latter, Liége. Belgium was again conquered, and the four fortresses occupied by the enemy in France were at once evacuated.

About the middle of September the French again resumed hostilities. Jourdan advanced against Clerfayt, and in a series of engagements forced him to fall back to Cologne and Bonn on the Rhine. At the same time Pichegru turned against the Duke of York and drove him back across the Meuse; two months later, the Duke threw up his command and returned to England.

By the close of the year the French were once more in possession of the Austrian Netherlands, and had also penetrated into Holland. The operations on the Rhine, which were of minor importance, had again taken them up to the walls of Mayence.

A severe winter, frozen rivers, and dissensions among the Allies, all favored the French operations at the beginning of 1795. Pichegru advanced slowly: his army crossed the lower Meuse on the ice the 27 December, the Waal the 8 January, and the Lek a week later. The beaten and demoralized British troops retired into Hanover. Holland gave up the contest, and her troops abandoned all resistance. Between the middle of January and the

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middle of February the French took possession of the entire country. Pichegru proclaimed the new Batavian Republic. These victories made a great impression on France and on all Europe.

The first break in the ranks of the Powers allied against France came in November 1794, when the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the brother of the Emperor, sent an envoy to Paris to treat with the Republic. The peace was signed and ratified in February 1795, and Tuscany became neutral.

Prussia next abandoned the coalition, in order to obtain a free hand against Poland. By the Treaty of Bâle, signed on the 5 April 1795, Prussia agreed to evacuate the left bank of the Rhine. Although less profitable to France than to Prussia, the peace was nevertheless of importance. Hostilities were to cease in all the territory occupied, including Holland. The King of Prussia weakened the coalition by his withdrawal from it; he abandoned his brother-in-law, the Stadtholder; he agreed to the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine; in short, he was the first formally to recognize the great victories of the Republic.

By a treaty signed the 16 May, and ratified ten days later by the States-General and the Convention, the Republic of the United Provinces was recognized by the French Republic as a free and independent power. Holland ceded to France the Flandre-Hollandaise, and agreed to pay an indemnity of one hundred million florins. By a secret clause of the treaty Holland also agreed to assume the expense of the French army of occupation, and to send to Paris numerous treasures of art.

The next peace to be signed was that with Spain, on the 4 September 1795. The negotiations, which were long and difficult, had covered a period of many months. Of the many subjects discussed, but few appeared in the final treaty. France agreed to evacuate the territory occupied in Spain, and received Saint-Domingue; also by a secret clause the Republic undertook to deliver Madame

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Royale up to Austria, if an exchange could not be arranged. For his services at this time, Godoy, the Queen's lover, was rewarded by the King with the title of "Prince of Peace."

But the diminished coalition still remained formidable. Austria was not yet willing to give up the fight. Two powerful armies, commanded by Wurmser and Clerfayt, were opposed to the armies of Sambre-et-Meuse and Rhin-et-Moselle under Jourdan and Pichegru. For the first time since the *levée en masse* the French were inferior in numbers. On the 6 September Jourdan crossed the Rhine opposite Dusseldorf, and marched up the river, towards Mayence. But, owing to the delay of Pichegru, the two armies did not coöperate, and Wurmser contained Pichegru, while Clerfayt forced Jourdan to retreat to the left bank of the river. Taking the offensive, Clerfayt then passed the Rhine, raised the siege of Mayence, and placed his forces like a wedge between the two French armies.

Wurmser now laid siege to Mannheim, which surrendered in November, with its garrison of 10,000 men. Only then did he throw his main body across the river, and advance against Pichegru at Landau. Without doubt, Pichegru was already negotiating with the Prince de Condé, and his inaction at Mannheim was not due only to military incapacity. However that may be, the French offensive had failed through his fault, and a new invasion was threatened. But an armistice on the first of January 1796 brought the operations to a close.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

1795

THE THIRTEENTH VENDÉMIAIRE

The Reaction after Thermidor — Joy of the Prisoners — Tallien and Thérésia — The Jacobin Club Closed — End of the Revolutionary Tribunal — The Stage Set for Bonaparte — Constitution of the Year Three — The Decree of Two-Thirds — Public Discontent — Death of the Dauphin — “The Riddle of the Temple” — Vote on the Constitution — Revolt of the Sections — Preparations for Attack — Measures of Defence — The Thirteenth Vendémiaire — Bonaparte Appears on the Scene — End of the Convention — Its Great Work

ON the morning of the 10 Thermidor, when the deputies issued from the hall of the Convention in the Tuileries, they were astonished at the cheers with which they were greeted. When Barras and Tallien appeared, there were no bounds to the public enthusiasm. With stupefaction they learned that they had put an end to the Terror! This had been far from their thoughts when they struck down Robespierre, but they were quick to take advantage of this reaction in public opinion.

The joy of the populace, however, was nothing in comparison with the delight of the reprieved prisoners who were hopelessly awaiting death. The daily roll-call had ceased: it was never to be heard again. The dreaded Tribunal was busy now only with the trial of the instruments of the Terror. While the tumbrils conveyed to the scaffold Fouquier and the judges and jurymen, the former captives were daily set free. Among those to issue from prison was Joséphine, who had been made a widow only a few days before, by the execution of Alexandre de Beauharnais, and who was expecting at every moment to follow him to the guillotine.

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At the same time a hundred thousand suspects issued from their hiding-places. No words can express their joy: "It was as if they had risen from the tomb, or been born into life again."

The news of Thermidor quickly spread over the entire world. In far-away America, Talleyrand, and Monsieur and Madame de La Tour du Pin, were dining with General Schuyler at Albany, when the Paris papers brought the report, and they immediately made their arrangements to return to France.

At Paris, some members of the Mountain tried, but in vain, to fight against the reaction. There is no doubt as to the spontaneity and practical unanimity of this change in public feeling, and the Convention could only follow the current.

On the very crest of the popular wave, rode Tallien; and the beautiful and graceful Thérésia was already, though covertly, the mistress of the city in which she was to reign supreme. The former Marquise de Fontenoy, the future Princesse de Chimay, for the moment was content to play the rôle of the Citoyenne Tallien. After the Reign of Terror, and the dictatorship of Robespierre, the woman-hater, the new régime found its incarnation in this fascinating and seductive woman of easy morals! Although she was generally supposed to be common property, Tallien was proud of her. He even sounded her praises from the rostrum of the Convention: "In the presence of our colleagues, in the presence of the people, I declare this woman to be my wife!" And Thérésia, sitting smiling in the gallery, was hailed with loud cheers of "Notre dame de Thermidor!" "Notre dame de Secours!"

On the 7 Fructidor (24 August) the Revolutionary Committees were abolished, and from that time on the campaign grew hotter and hotter. The Jacobins tried to keep up their spirits by bitter attacks upon the policy of reaction. In a speech to his fellow-members on the 13 Brumaire, Billaud shouted: "The sleeping lion is not dead, and when he awakes he will exterminate his foes!"

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"Poor lion!" says Madelin, "they were to make him a laughing-stock before they destroyed him." The "haunt of the Jacobins" was taken by storm, the men driven out, and the women fustigated. To such a low estate had fallen the proud Jacobins, before whom all France had trembled but three short months before! The Convention realized, on this, that they no longer had cause to fear "the lion's" teeth and claws, and decided to dispatch him at once. A decree for the closing of the club was passed: the doors were locked, and the keys brought to the Convention. "The infernal Society," whose strength had always lain in the cowardice of its victims, now numbered less than fifty deputies, "a minority doomed to the silence and humiliations it had once imposed on its opponents."

The survivors of the Girondins were recalled, and the refractory priests and the émigrés were allowed to return. La Vendée, already half subdued, was offered an amnesty. During a period of more than six months, one measure of reaction followed another; but it is impossible here to go into all the details. A decree under date of the 31 May 1795 put an end to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Another decree, on the 12 June, forbade the official employment of the word "revolutionary," and the committees which still existed resumed their former names of committees of surveillance. Thus disappeared the last vestiges of the revolutionary government, before the Convention had given to the Republic its new constitution. Finally, on the 24 June, the Convention ordered the demolition of the building occupied by the defunct Jacobin Club, in the Rue Saint-Honoré, for the erection of a market.

The stage was now set for the appearance of a new dictator. A thousand interests opposed the restoration of the Monarchy, but all were agreed in their readiness to accept a new ruler who would conserve the benefits of the Revolution. A year before, Catherine the Second of Russia had written: "If France emerges from all this, she will be as obedient as any lamb; but what she needs

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is a man of superior intellect, skilful, courageous, above all his contemporaries, and perhaps even his century. Has that man been born into the world? ”

He had been born into the world, and he was about to appear on the scene!

Since the month of December 1794, a commission, often changed, and frequently reconstituted, had been working on a new constitution. There had been some idea of asking Sieyès, “the first of political architects,” to draw it up. It was said that, if two constitutions had already been found unsatisfactory, it was because the oracle had not been consulted. But “mysterious, haughty, dogmatic, vague,” he refused once more “to come down from his Sinai,” and take his seat on the commission. The commission was therefore obliged to work out its task without the help of the great man.

It would be interesting to follow the work of the commission, but we must be content to record that the idea of an executive government was rejected, because, as Louvet remarked, “the people might possibly have elected a Bourbon.” The executive power was therefore to be confided to five “Directors,” to be elected by the chambers. There were to be two of these chambers: the Council of the Ancients, to number 250, and the Council of Five-Hundred, following the bicameral arrangement of the American government.

In electing the Directory, the Cinq-Cents were to select fifty names, and out of these the Anciens were to choose the five chief magistrates. One member of the Directory was to retire every year, and a successor to be elected. The power of the executive was very limited: the Directors had no veto; they could not appoint official functionaries; and they were deprived of the management of the finances. The balance of power was so carefully arranged that both the executive and the legislative functions were paralyzed. Out of this Constitution, for which Mignet expresses great admiration, were to be born no less than four coups d'état!

Conscious of its unpopularity, and wishing to prolong

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its existence, the Convention now adopted the outrageous "Decree of Two-Thirds," which provided that "two-thirds of the deputies of the new Corps Législatif must be chosen among the outgoing members of the Assembly."

The announcement of this decree was received in Paris by a general outburst of rage. The Lepeletier section was the most inflamed. It met in a church at the end of the Rue Vivienne, on the present site of the Bourse. Many different events had served to crystallize the general feeling of discontent: the menacing treason of Pichegru; the threats of Condé; new uprisings in the Vendée and Normandie; the surreptitious return of many émigrés, who had been summoned to sustain royalist movements which were being prepared; the secret negotiations for peace with Prussia and Spain; and the rumors that certain prominent Conventionnels, like Tallien and Cambacérès, were involved in an intrigue for the return of the Bourbons.

The deputy most seriously compromised seems to have been Tallien. During the course of the first negotiations with Spain, through the medium of his father-in-law Cabarrus, he had suggested the idea of erecting Navarre into a sovereignty for the Dauphin. But the young prince died in the Temple on the 8 June 1795, at the age of ten years and two months. Like his elder brother, the first Dauphin, who died at Meudon in June 1789, he was scrofulous and rickety. None of the imposters who claimed at a later date to be the Dauphin could produce any proofs; and it seems improbable that another boy could have been substituted for the prisoner, and the young prince carried off either by his adversaries or his partisans. Nevertheless, Monsieur George Lenôtre, in his interesting work on "The Dauphin," recently published, appears to believe that the young prince was removed from the Temple at the time of the departure of Simon in January 1795, and another and older lad substituted in his place. After giving all the information available on the subject, M. Lenôtre is forced to admit, however, "In truth, and although it may be pitiful, to con-



THE DAUPHIN (LOUIS XVII)

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clude so long a narrative with these words: We do not know."

The strongest argument in favor of his assumption seems to be the strange neglect with which the memory of the Dauphin was treated by the royal family. Louis the Eighteenth was hardly installed before he gave orders to search for the spot in the Madeleine cemetery where the bodies of his brother and Marie-Antoinette were buried, but no such inquiry was made regarding the remains of the Dauphin. It was known that he had been buried in the "trench," or common grave of the cemetery of Sainte-Marguerite, and that the grave-digger had afterwards withdrawn the body and reburied it alongside the church wall. But it was not until November 1846, during the last years of the reign of Louis-Philippe, that any search was made for the grave. Then a few blows with a pickaxe brought to light, at the exact place indicated by the grave-digger, a coffin of lead, which was carried to the presbytery, and opened in the presence of several priests and a few doctors. Forty-eight years later a fresh inquiry was undertaken, and on this occasion the remains were carefully examined by a number of the greatest specialists in Paris. All agreed that the remains were undoubtedly those of the boy upon whom the autopsy was performed in the Temple, but whether he was the Dauphin or not, of course no one could say.

Another strange circumstance was the fact that Louis the Eighteenth refused to receive the heart taken from the body of the Dauphin at the time of the autopsy, and carefully preserved as a precious relic until after the return of the Bourbons. An inquiry conducted by M. Pasquier proved the authenticity of the heart, but all the same the King refused to accept it.

The hair of the little prince, cut off and taken away at the time of the autopsy, fared no better. It had been preserved in a reliquary of white velvet, figured with golden fleurs de lis, itself enclosed in a red morocco case, bearing the inscription, "Hair of His Majesty Louis XVII." No relic presented more marks of authenticity,

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but the Duchesse d'Angoulême, the sister of the martyr of the Temple, absolutely refused to receive it.

All these facts would seem to indicate that the royal family knew that the boy who died in the Temple was not really the Dauphin of France. The door was thus opened wide for impostors, and they appeared in every quarter of the globe. The two most famous of the pretenders were Richemont and Naundorff, about whom a considerable literature has grown up.

What then can have become of the royal child? Like M. Lenôtre we can only answer: We do not know. The fate of the little Dauphin will always remain "The Riddle of the Temple."

After the death of the Dauphin, his uncles, the Comte de Provence and the Comte d'Artois, at once assumed the titles of King and of Monsieur, respectively. At this time there was also talk of a marriage between Madame Royale and the Duc d'Orléans, the future King Louis-Philippe, who had passed over to the Austrians with Dumouriez, and was now teaching at Lausanne. But she later became the wife of the Duc d'Angoulême, the eldest son of Artois, and he married a granddaughter of Queen Caroline of Naples, a sister of Marie-Antoinette. So much for royal match-making!

On the 1^{er} Vendémiaire An IV (23 September 1795), the Convention proclaimed the acceptance of the Constitution by 914,853 votes to 41,892, and of the Decree of Two-Thirds by 167,758 to 95,373: consequently the Convention declared the Constitution and the decree to be the laws of the State.

The sections of Paris, which had almost unanimously opposed the decree, filed a protest with the Convention, but obtained no satisfaction. In anticipation of trouble, the Government ordered some troops in camp at Marly, below Paris, to come to the Sablons, behind Chaillot, near the present Bois de Boulogne.

From the first to the eleventh Vendémiaire the excitement in Paris continued to increase. The tocsin was sounded, and 32 of the 48 Sections responded to the call

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of Lepeletier. The Convention remained in permanent session. The committees of the government delegated their powers to five of their members: a kind of Directory in anticipation.

On the twelfth the situation became worse. The Lepeletier section issued a call to arms, and the mobilization of the National Guards was completed. For its protection the Assembly had only about 500 gendarmes and 1500 volunteers. To disperse the armed bands of the sections, the 4000 troops at the Sablons were ordered up, under the command of Menou. He obeyed, but moved very slowly. Instead of acting, he opened negotiations with the president of the sections, and promised to retire if the sectionnaires would do the same. Bonaparte, who had attended a theatre that evening, was a witness of this scene. It was now late, and both the regular troops and the insurgents retired.

That night the Convention removed Menou, and appointed Barras commander-in-chief. They also placed under his orders several general officers then at Paris, notably Bonaparte, Brune, Carteaux and Dupont.

Promoted general of brigade after Toulon, in December 1793, Bonaparte had commanded the artillery of the Army of Italy from January 1794 to March 1795, and had then been assigned to the Army of the West. On his arrival at Paris in May, the Minister of War, Aubry, transferred him to the infantry. Bonaparte declined this appointment, on the plea of ill-health, and remained at Paris; on the 15 September his name was stricken from the rolls of the army. As already stated, during the summer he was employed by Carnot in the Topographical Bureau, and drew up a plan for the Campaign of Italy, which was scornfully rejected by the commanders in the field.

In this crisis, Barras, who had known him since the siege of Toulon, was glad to utilize his services as aide de camp, or chief of staff.

On the evening of the 12 Vendémiaire, 4 October 1795, Bonaparte had attended the Théâtre Feydeau, and when

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he left at the end of the performance, speaking of the false position of Menou in the Rue Vivienne, he said to Junot: "If the Sections were to put me at their head I would undertake, myself, to put them in the Tuileries in two hours, and to chase out these miserable Conventionnels." Two hours later, at one o'clock in the morning, Bonaparte was in the Tuileries, but as General of the Convention! Before accepting the command which was offered him by Barras, he requested a moment for reflection.

"Three minutes only," replied Barras.

"Very well," replied Bonaparte, "I accept. But I warn you that, the sword once out of its sheath, I shall not replace it until I have reëstablished order."

"That is also my understanding."

"Well, do not let us lose any time, minutes now are hours."

Everything was to be done, and here was Bonaparte who already spoke with the tone of a commander, in the palace which would soon be the theatre of his colossal power and of his incomparable renown.

The troops of Menou were posted around the Tuileries, but their cannon had been left at the Sablons. Bonaparte immediately dispatched his future brother-in-law, Major Murat, with 300 troopers in search of the guns. He arrived just in time to prevent the insurgents from seizing them, and at six o'clock in the morning of the 13 Vendémiaire the forty pieces were at the Tuileries. Bonaparte placed the cannon at the different points which commanded the approaches to the Château: from the Place de la Révolution, by the Rue Saint-Honoré to the Palais-Royal, and on the left bank of the Seine, from the Pont de la Concorde to the Pont Royal. By this arrangement the small forces of the Convention ran no risk of being overwhelmed by numbers, and the communications of the insurgents from one bank of the river to the other were hampered. By ten o'clock in the morning, all the military preparations had been completed.

On their side, the sectionnaires were well organized.

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The National Guards amounted to at least 25,000 men, commanded by a former general of brigade, Danican, and two returned émigrés, Colbert and Lafond.

It was a chilly, rainy morning, and the patriots, who were ready to die in defence of their rights, had an insuperable objection to getting wet. When the rain ceased, about four o'clock, Danican led his men against the Tuileries. A half hour later, the first shots were fired, in the Rue Saint-Honoré near the Church of Saint-Roch, and the conflict soon extended from this point to the Palais-Royal. The battle was short but furious. The cannon, well posted, enfiladed all the streets approaching the Tuileries. The courage of the patriots could not withstand such unexpected and brutal treatment, and they fled in all directions. Such was the famous "whiff of grape-shot" which, Carlyle says, "ended the French Revolution."

After years of insurrection, Paris had finally found her master. Bonaparte had entered on the scene of History!

The last of the great revolutionary days was not the most sanguinary: the number of killed and wounded on both sides has been estimated at only two or three hundred.

The army for the first time had taken a decisive part in civil affairs. To ensure the maintenance of order, the camp of the soldiers was now transferred from the Sablons to the Tuileries. The sections were disarmed, and there were no further attempts at resistance. A military commission condemned only two persons to death: Lafond and Lebois. The barriers were not closed, and all the accused could easily escape.

Immediate promotions were given to the officers who had been prominent in the defence of the government. Bonaparte was named *général en second* of the Army of the Interior, 8 October; promoted general of division, 16 October; and succeeded Barras as general-in-chief of the Army of the Interior on the 26 October. His remarkable fortune dates from the 13 Vendémiaire.

The importance of the government's victory over the sections cannot be overstated. If the insurgents had been

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successful, the restoration of the Monarchy would have been a question only of days. Tallien, who was deeply compromised in the royalist intrigues, saved himself by denouncing others. As the result of a report by Barras on the dangers of royalism, a commission of five members was named to propose measures of "public safety," and Tallien was appointed reporter!

The Convention terminated its labors, as it had begun, in an atmosphere of fury and passion. A proposal to set aside the new Constitution, like that of 1793, was energetically opposed, and voted down, and the new government went into office on the 26 October.

At its final session, the Convention decreed a general amnesty for all the "deeds connected with the Revolution," with the exception of priests "déportés," émigrés, and vendémiairistes. Dating from the day of the proclamation of a general peace, the penalty of death was to be abolished in the Republic, and the "Place de la Révolution," where the guillotine had performed its functions, was to be called "Place de la Concorde."

"In the span of three years," says Madelin, "the Convention had lived a hundred, amidst unheard of perils: it had proclaimed the Republic in the France of Louis the Fourteenth, and it had organized in the name of Liberty the most formidable tyranny any country had ever known; it had sent a king to the scaffold, and raised armies that had driven back the Powers of Europe; it had put down civil war, and carried France to her natural frontiers."

But it would be unjust to drop the final curtain without speaking of the great measures adopted by the Convention in the cause of Public Instruction. In the midst of all its dangers, it founded the "Lycées" of the future: the Écoles Centrales, the École Polytechnique, and the École Normale. It reorganized the Museum of Natural History and the Collège de France; it organized the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, and, finally, that "great and majestic creation," the Institute of France.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

1795-1797

THE DIRECTORY

Inauguration of the New Government — The Corps Législatif — The Five Directors — Their Installation at the Luxembourg — The Ministers — The Parties — Program of the Government — The Clerical and Royalist Menace — Exchange of Madame Royale — Pichegru at Paris — End of the Civil War — Phélippeaux and Sidney Smith — Benjamin Constant — Foreign Policy — Operations in Germany — The Spanish Alliance — Negotiations with England — The Irish Expedition — Barthélemy, Director — Hoche and Talleyrand, Ministers — The 18 Fructidor — The New Directors — Augereau and Bonaparte

THE Corps Législatif was composed of 506 Conventionnels, instead of 500, and of 235 deputies of the new third, instead of 250, that is to say, of 741 members in all, in place of 750, as provided by the new Constitution. The Councils met for the first time on the night of the 27 October 1795. The names of the deputies more than forty years of age were placed in an urn, and the members of the Council of the Ancients were drawn by lot: they numbered 243, instead of 250, of whom 164 were former members of the Convention. In the lower chamber of Five-Hundred there were 498 deputies, 342 ex-Conventionnels and 156 of the new third. The two Councils held their first meeting separately on the following day, and elected their officers.

On the 31 October the election of the Directors took place. The new Constitution provided that they should be chosen by the Anciens from a list of fifty names presented by the Cinq-Cents. The latter took advantage of this provision to draw up a list of fifty persons, of whom forty-four were absolutely unknown: the choice of the

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upper chamber was therefore practically limited to six names!

On the first of November accordingly the Anciens elected the Directory from the first five names on the list: Barras, Sieyès, Reubell, La Revellière, and Le Tourneur. Sieyès declined to serve, and Carnot was chosen in his place.

Reubell, the oldest of the Directors, was forty-eight, and Barras, the youngest, was forty; the three others were from forty-two to forty-four. With the exception of La Revellière, they were all large, robust men. Barras was handsome, and prided himself upon his air of distinction. He was the only man from the South, and the only former noble. His four colleagues came from the north of France, and belonged to the bourgeoisie. Barras, Carnot and Le Tourneur, before the Revolution, were captains in the Engineers, while the other two were lawyers. The four bourgeois were absolutely honest and devoted to their task, while the ex-vicomte always looked for the pleasures and the advantages which he could derive from his position.

Elegant, luxurious, wildly extravagant, ever short of money, notwithstanding his salary of 125,000 francs a year; ready always to sell his influence to the highest bidder; a sensualist and a débauché, surrounded by a court of intriguers, and of pretty women of loose morals, like Joséphine and Thérésia; as devoid of morality as it was possible for a man to be, Barras represented in the new Republic all of the rottenness of the Ancien Régime. His contemporaries paint him in the darkest of colors, but his own Memoirs are his strongest indictment. As he was the only one of the Directors to remain in power until the end, his vile reputation has thrown a shadow over the whole period of the Directory.

The irony of fate had associated the pure and austere Carnot with this "most dissolute of rakes." His sturdy figure, says Madelin, was in curious contrast to the supple elegance of Barras, and morally the difference was even more extraordinary. Proud, serious, moral, he belonged,

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says Albert Sorel, to "the corps of engineers in politics as well as in war." He, too, loved power, but only for the opportunity it gave him of serving his country. As the "organizer of victory," after Thermidor he had escaped the unpopularity of his colleagues, and had been elected to the Assembly by fourteen departments.

Reubell, an Alsatian lawyer, was a ruddy, round-faced, broad-shouldered man, who still remained at heart a thorough Jacobin. His colleagues were both offended and intimidated by his arrogance. He was always in favor of violent measures.

La Revellière was one of the few Girondins who had escaped the Revolutionary Tribunal. The strongest feature of his character was his hatred of priests, although he was essentially an upright, and even a religious man.

Le Tourneur was a former engineer officer, like his friend Carnot, whom he followed in every respect.

On the 13 Brumaire of the Year Four (4 November 1795) the four Directors met in the hall of the former Committee of Public Safety in the Tuileries, and then set out for the Luxembourg, which had been assigned them as an official residence. It was a strange procession: in the two hackney carriages rode the four men, of whom three were quite unknown to the public. The only celebrity among them, Barras, attracted attention by the great sword he held upright between his knees. They were escorted by 120 dragoons and the same number of infantrymen of the Constitutional Guard. The troops were poorly clad: the cavalry had no boots.

At the Luxembourg, there was no one to receive them except the concierge. Since the departure of the Comte de Provence in 1791, the palace had not been kept up, and all the furniture had mysteriously disappeared. The Directors wandered about until they found a room with a table and a fireplace. One of the legs of the table had rotted out and fallen off, and it was as lopsided as the new government. The concierge found four cane-bottomed chairs, and brought in an armful of wood. One

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of the magistrates had brought a few sheets of paper from the Pavillon de Flore, and on these were inscribed the minutes of the first meeting of "Their Majesties," as the Directors were derisively called by the people. When the five men made their first public appearance in the gala dress of satin, with capes "à la François I^{er}," red hats with plumes, laces, swords, silk stockings, and shoes with rosettes, the Parisians could not keep a straight face. The "Luxembourg Masquerade" filled the people with mirth.

The Ministers appointed by the Directory were generally unknown men with the exception of Merlin of Douai, who had the department of Justice. The Ministry of the Interior was overburdened with duties. This department performed the same services as the present ministries of the Interior, Agriculture, Public Instruction and Beaux-Arts, Public Works, and Commerce, and the bureaux of the Police, and the Posts. In order to relieve this department of some of its duties, on the second of January 1796, the Directory created a new ministry under the name of "Police Générale de la République," and gave the portfolio to Merlin, who was superseded in the Justice by Genissieu. Other changes took place during the following months, but they were of no political importance. Reubell charged himself particularly with the supervision of Foreign Affairs. The only ministers with any initiative were those of Justice and Finance.

The Directors, who had no control over the Treasury, soon asked the Corps Législatif for an appropriation, and the sum of twenty million livres was voted, not to the Directors, but to the various ministers. This grant disclosed the fact that the Treasury was empty! An effort was made to raise six hundred millions by a forced loan, directed principally against the owners of large fortunes. This measure brought more hatred on the Directory than had been caused by all the tyranny of Robespierre.

The Anciens sat in the Tuileries, in the former hall of the Convention, and the Cinq-Cents in the Manège. The deputies were forbidden to form groups according to their

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opinions, and all the seats were drawn by lot every month. The terms Right, Left and Centre, therefore, cannot be employed to distinguish the parties under the Directory, but the divisions existed nevertheless. A dozen of the most active of the new men met regularly, several times a week, at the house of one of the members in the Rue de Clichy, and this clique, which later became more numerous, received the name of the party of the Clichyens. The Directory had no constructive ability in the field of politics, and never succeeded in forming a party of its own to support it in the Assembly.

In a "Proclamation to the French People," under date of the 5 November 1795, the Directory announced its program, which may be summed up in three words: Order, Peace, and Progress. It was identical with the policy which brought so much glory to Bonaparte under the Consulate, but it was never carried out. The Directory was unable to put a stop to disorder; war was carried on because, as Sieyès frankly admitted, "we shall all be destroyed if peace is made"; and the country went steadily from bad to worse.

Although the Government had succeeded in restoring order in Paris on the 13 Vendémiaire, the danger still remained grave. The greatest peril came from the Army, which was full of possible Monks and Cæsars. Pichegru was intriguing with Louis the Eighteenth, and even the loyal Hoche had his theories for the reorganization of the Republic.

The Directory did not realize the extent of the military peril, which in the end was to overthrow it, but it was full of fear of the Clerical menace. Everywhere in France there was a spontaneous revival of religious fervor: there was "an explosion of the faith that had been too long suppressed." Especially in the country districts was there a demand for the return of the "good priests." A sort of religious intoxication, says M. Madelin, seized, not only the peasants, apparently so indifferent only a short time before, but also the upper classes, once so deeply tainted with infidelity. This "resurrection"

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greatly disturbed the Directory, and at the Luxembourg it was decided to destroy "the infernal ascendancy of the priesthood." The result was an absurd persecution which accomplished nothing.

Another danger came from the royalist insurrections in the Vendée, Normandie and Bretagne. These were all supported, if not incited, by England, which sent gold, and arms and ammunition, into the West. There was very little spontaneity about these movements: they ceased as soon as the British gold failed to arrive. In this case, it must be admitted, the Directory acted with energy and ability, and its success was complete.

On the 24 June 1795, two weeks after the death of the Dauphin, the minister of Tuscany at Paris proposed an exchange of Madame Royale, "the daughter of the last King of the French." As the royalist danger seemed past, the Convention decided to negotiate her exchange against eight prominent citizens detained by the Austrians: Beurnonville, the former Minister of War, and the four deputies given up by Dumouriez; Drouet, another deputy; and two diplomatic agents, Maret and Sémonville. The Princesse left Paris the 19 December, and was delivered to the Austrians at Bâle a week later. All of the released deputies had been elected to the Corps Législatif, and Drouet, the same man who had arrested the flight of the King at Varennes, had an enthusiastic reception when he related his experiences to the Cinq-Cents, on the 13 January.

The danger from royalist plots, however, was far from being over. Pichegru, after being relieved of his command, for his grave neglect of duty in December, had returned to Paris. He should have been tried for treason, but the authorities were strangely lenient. The Royalists counted on him to aid their plans, but he did not dare to move. He accepted the appointment of minister to Sweden, but obtained permission, before leaving for his post, to take a short vacation in his native province, Franche-Comté, where he could easily keep in touch with the royalists across the frontier. He left Paris convinced

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that it would be impossible to restore the monarchy except by a revulsion in public sentiment.

This change of opinion was due mainly to the collapse of the royalist insurrection in the West. After a sudden appearance on the coast, the Comte d'Artois had given up all hope of success, and sailed away. Where so many Republican generals had met only with failure, Hoche had succeeded. In May and June, the last of the insurgents laid down their arms, and the civil war was ended.

In the departments of Cher and Indre, Phélippeaux had raised an insurrection, but was defeated and captured. He escaped from the prison at Bourges, and had the audacity to come to Paris, where he aided the English sailor Sidney Smith to gain his freedom. Phélippeaux was a former comrade of Bonaparte at the École Militaire, and the latter was to encounter the two friends again at the siege of Acre, where they contributed powerfully to the failure of his plans.

The first year of the Directory was perhaps the most peaceful period of the Revolutionary era in France. To this régime of order Benjamin Constant materially contributed, by two articles on the necessity of all factions rallying to the Government, published in the "Moniteur" early in May. Constant was born in Switzerland, but was of Huguenot-French descent. He was an intimate friend of Madame de Staël, and was later to become a power at Paris.

Soon after the Directory came into office it had to decide upon the future foreign policy of France. Three courses were open to it: (1) To withdraw to the ancient boundaries of France under the Monarchy; (2) To retain the conquests already made, limited by the "natural frontiers" of the Rhine and the Alps; (3) To embark on an imperialistic program of indefinite conquest and expansion.

Reubell, who from the first had taken the direction of the department of Foreign Affairs, favored the second policy. He was an Alsatian, and he naturally wished for the "barrier of the Rhine." All of his colleagues did not

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agree with him, but for the moment they did not oppose his views. Carnot, who had at one time supported the doctrine of the "natural frontiers," was now inclined to favor the "ancient limits." Le Tourneur, as usual, followed Carnot. La Revellière wanted a war of emancipation for all oppressed peoples. Barras was indifferent, as the question did not affect his pleasures or his personal interests. Reubell was therefore free to dictate the policy of the Government. His views are apparent in the instructions given to Bonaparte when he was placed in command of the Army of Italy. But Bonaparte was not a man to be dictated to, and in the end his own policy prevailed over that of the Directory. This subject will be treated more fully in another place.

On the Rhine and in Germany the Government retained the direction of affairs, but there they had no success. Nevertheless, to judge by the size of the armies, the Directors considered this the principal field of operations. The Austrian commander was the Archduke Charles, a brother of the Emperor Francis. At this time he was only twenty-four years of age, or two years younger than Bonaparte himself. He was a commander of much ability, but he lacked self-confidence, and was always stronger in defence than in attack. In this campaign the Aulic Council, frightened by the success of Bonaparte in Italy, ordered him to rest on the defensive. The orders of the Directory, on the contrary, were for the French forces to cross the Rhine, and carry the war into the heart of Germany. The Army of the Rhin-et-Moselle under Moreau advanced to the Danube by way of Carlsruhe and Stuttgart, while Jourdan with the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse reached a point beyond Nuremberg. By a double peace, signed in August with the Duke of Würtemberg and the Margrave of Baden, these two princes renounced their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. This action attacked the very constitution of the Empire.

After this matters took a turn for the worse. Charles assumed the offensive and drove a wedge between the two French armies. Jourdan, defeated in three engage-

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ments, was forced to recross the Rhine on the 20 September. The Archduke then turned on Moreau, who made good his retreat through the Black Forest, and retired to Alsace the 25 October. Desaix held out at Kehl until the 9 January 1797, and Ferino at Huningue until the 5 February: after these dates the French did not hold even a *tête de pont* on the other side of the Rhine.

In April 1796, the Directory sent General Pérignon on a diplomatic mission to Madrid, where on the 19 August a treaty of alliance was signed between France and Spain against England. The immediate result of this compact was the abandonment of the Mediterranean by the British fleets. Corsica was evacuated in October, after having been occupied for three years; and the English flag was not seen again in those waters for nearly two years.

At a conference held at Paris in July 1796, between Carnot, Clarke, Hoche, and Wolf Tone, the chief of the "United-Irish" party, an invasion of Ireland was decided upon and Hoche was named general-in-chief of the French army.

The news of the projected invasion threw the British Government into a panic, and Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris to open negotiations for peace. The conditions laid down by England, such, for instance, as a return to the former limits of France, were not acceptable. The Directory was strengthened in its determination by two pieces of good news which reached Paris at the same time — Bonaparte's victory at Arcole on the 17 November, and the death of Catherine the Second the same day. On the 19 December, Malmesbury was given his passports, and he left Paris the following day.

Hoche was ready to sail for Ireland the middle of December, but when the fleet arrived in sight of the Bay of Bantry on the 22 December, a storm prevented the landing of the troops, and the expedition returned. A little later, in February 1797, Jarvis defeated the Spanish fleet at Cape Saint Vincent, and forced it to take refuge at Cadiz, where it was blockaded.

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The elections of the Year Five, in the spring of 1797, resulted in the choice of a large majority of deputies of royalist sympathies. Only thirteen of the retiring members were reëlected, out of a total of 216.

The new Councils met on the 21 May and elected Barbe-Marbois as president of the Ancients, and Pichegru as president of the Five-Hundred. Le Tourneur having been designated by lot as the Director to retire, the Councils chose in his place the Marquis de Barthélemy, who had negotiated the Treaty of Bâle. The new majority in the Corps Législatif, however, had only a minority in the Directory: Carnot and Barthélemy.

In July a crisis developed between the Councils and the Directory over the question of Ministers, which resulted in the appointment of Hoche to the War Office, and Talleyrand to the Foreign Affairs. The former Bishop of Autun had returned from America a short time before, and he owed his selection to the intervention of his old friend Madame de Staël, who at this moment was all-powerful with Benjamin Constant. Going to her house, and throwing upon the table his purse, which contained only a few louis, he said: "Voilà le reste de ma fortune! Demain ministre, ou je me brule la cervelle!" None of this was true, but it was dramatic, remarks the chronicler of this episode, and Madame de Staël loved that. For the last time in her life this intriguing dame realized her dream of exercising political power.

Towards the end of June, Hoche had gone to The Hague to demand the coöperation of the Dutch fleet in a new descent on Ireland. On his return to the headquarters of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, which he commanded, he detached 10,000 men, with orders to march to Brest. The troops set out on the second of July, and both officers and men knew that their route would take them close to Paris, where they might be called on to defend the Republic against the Royalists. None of the Directors except Barras seems to have known of this move of Hoche's — not even Carnot, who occupied himself specially with military questions.

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However this may be, Hoche was en route with his troops when he was named Minister of War. It was evident to the Councils that the Directory was preparing a *coup de force*, and the Cinq-Cents demanded an explanation. But neither side wished to carry matters too far, and Hoche, on the 22 July, resigned his post on the ground that he had not reached the constitutional age of thirty years.

In the meantime his soldiers had halted at a distance of about twelve leagues from Paris, the limit beyond which they could not come without the authority of the Councils. The passage of arms had been lively, and had ended in a *coup nul*. The two adversaries remained on the defensive, and watched each other.

In his correspondence with the Directory, Bonaparte had continually advised a resort to force. He sent his aide de camp, Lavallette, to Paris on the 11 July, and Augereau, one of his generals, two weeks later.

The chief reliance of the Royalists was in Pichegru, who had it in his power to do much, but refused to make a move. Hoche continued to assemble his army near Paris, and the first of August had 30,000 men in line. On the fourth of August he was denounced in the Cinq-Cents. The Directory countered by naming Augereau commander of the 17th military division, to which Paris belonged. Hoche, after a painful scene with Carnot, left Paris, and was carried off a few weeks later by a "mysterious malady," which seems to have been tuberculosis.

On the third of September a caucus of the two Councils decided to introduce on the following day an act of accusation against the directorial "triumvirate." On receiving news of this, Barras and La Revellière met at Reubell's house, and summoned Augereau and the Ministers. This was the "permanent session" of the Directory, which was to last for over forty-eight hours.

The coup d'état of the 18 Fructidor, 4 September 1797, began at three o'clock in the morning. In silence the governmental troops drew a cordon around the Tuileries and took possession of the bridges across the Seine; the

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barriers were closed, and notices posted, and sent to the papers.

Carnot, warned in time, escaped by the Luxembourg Garden. Barthélemy remained at home, refused to resign, and was guarded as a prisoner. At daybreak the troops entered the Tuileries without opposition. Some of the deputies were arrested on their arrival, and others hid themselves. At ten o'clock the Directory took possession of the Odéon and the Medical School for the sessions of the two Councils. The deputies met in these two places for four days only, and then returned to the Tuileries and the Manège. There was no disturbance of any kind in the city. On the evening of the fifth the Paris barriers were opened again, and conditions were normal in every respect.

As a result of the coup d'état, 140 deputies were deprived of their seats, and 53 were transported. At the same time over forty journals were suppressed.

It only remained to replace the two directors. François de Neufchâteau was chosen to succeed Carnot, and Merlin de Douai in place of Barthélemy. Augereau was much disappointed, as he had hoped to be one of the new magistrates. The death of Hoche on the 19 September made an opening for him. Moreau had been recalled on the second of September, and now the three armies on the northern frontier were amalgamated under the name of the Army of Germany, and given to Augereau. The last of October Kellermann was deprived of his command, and the Army of the Alps was united to the Army of Italy. There were now only two generals-in-chief, for all the armies of the Republic, and they were men in whom the Directors had absolute confidence: Augereau and Bonaparte!

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

1796-1797

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

Bonaparte in Command of the Army of Italy — The Theatre of War — Condition of the French Army — Bonaparte's First Proclamation — State of the Peninsula — Bonaparte's Plan of Campaign — Battles of Montenotte and Mondovi — Armistice with Piedmont — The Austrians Retire within the Quadrilateral — Battle of Lodi and Entrance into Milan — Siege of Mantua — Bonaparte's Second Proclamation — Battle of Castiglione — Battle of Bassano — Battle of Arcole — Renewal of Hostilities — Battle of Rivoli — Battle of La Favorita and Fall of Mantua — Treaty of Tolentino — The Last Italian Campaign — The Archduke Charles — Retreat of the Austrians — Preliminaries of Leoben — Peace of Campo-Formio — Bonaparte Returns to Paris — Results of the Italian Campaign

BONAPARTE was named general-in-chief of the Army of Italy on the second of March 1796. On the ninth he was married to Joséphine de Beauharnais, and left Paris two days later, to take up his command at Nice on the 26 March. Barras states in his "Mémoires" that this command was given to Napoleon as a wedding gift to Joséphine! But this assertion is absolutely false: the appointment was in fact made by Carnot, and Barras and the other Directors simply gave their approval. The year before, while connected with the Topographical Bureau, Bonaparte had drawn up a plan for the campaign of Italy. At that time, his scheme had been contemptuously rejected by Kellermann and Schérer, the two generals in command in Italy. Carnot had seen and studied this masterly conception, and had become convinced of the genius of its author. Bonaparte, therefore, owed his appointment, not to a disgraceful intrigue, but to his own genius.

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Before entering upon a description of this wonderful Campaign of Italy, which gave Bonaparte undying fame, it may be interesting to describe briefly the topography of the theatre of operations.

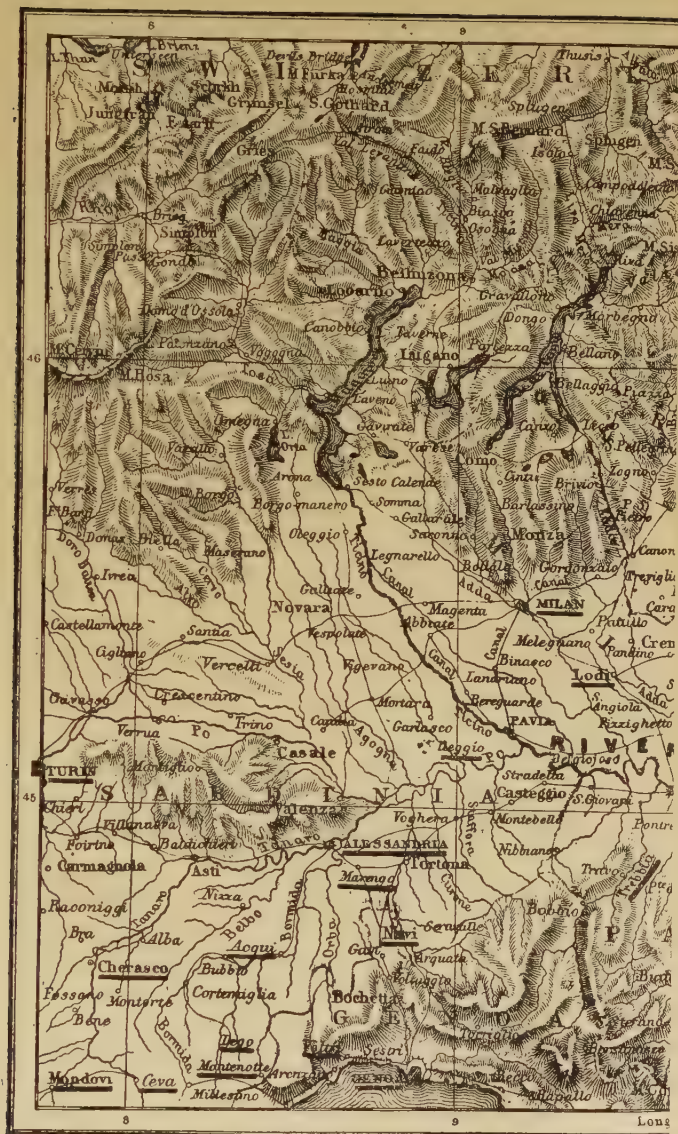
Separating Switzerland from Italy is the lofty mountainous range known as the Swiss Alps. Extending south from western Switzerland to within about thirty miles of the sea, and forming the boundary line between France and Italy, are the French Alps. Turning east from this point and approaching the sea, the range is called the Maritime Alps; and still further east, along the shores of the Gulf of Genoa, is known as the Apennines.

With the exception of a few passes, these great mountain ranges, almost encircling northern Italy, form an unsurmountable barrier to military operations. To-day, magnificent highways cross the Alps, and they are pierced by several tunnels which bring Turin and Milan within a few hours of France and Switzerland, but in the closing years of the eighteenth century, there were only a few passes, which were both difficult and dangerous for troops, and almost impassable for cavalry and artillery.

At the time he took command, Bonaparte found the Army of Italy in a very precarious situation. Its detachments were stretched out along the coast from Nice to Savona, while the Allies occupied strong positions along the northern slopes of the Maritime Alps and the Apennines, and had the further advantage of inner and therefore shorter lines.

The new commander, without money to feed, equip or pay his soldiers, at once won their hearts by the first of those ringing proclamations which he knew so well how to write:

“Soldiers! You are hungry and nearly naked. The Government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. Your patience and courage do you honor but they bring you neither profit nor glory. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world. There you will find rich provinces and great towns. There you will find glory,



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Scale of English Miles

10 20 30 40 50



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honor, and riches. Soldiers of Italy, can your courage fail you? ”

At this time Italy was divided into more than a dozen small rival states. The daughters of the King of Piedmont, Victor Amadeus the Third, had married Provence and Artois, the two brothers of Louis the Sixteenth, and this fact had led him to enter the coalition against France. Lombardy belonged to Austria, and a prince of that House ruled in Tuscany. The only heir of the Duke of Modena had married the Archduke Ferdinand, a brother of the Emperor. Marie-Caroline, a sister of the unfortunate Marie-Antoinette, occupied the throne of Naples as consort of the weak Ferdinand the Fourth. The Pope, Pius Sixth, was unfriendly to France on account of the destruction of the Church in the new Republic. Practically all of the states in the Peninsula were therefore unfriendly to France, with the exception of the two republics of Venice and Genoa which were nominally neutral.

At the time that Bonaparte took command of the Army of Italy its strength did not exceed 40,000 men. But it was composed of excellent troops, now long inured to the fatigues of mountain warfare. The chief of staff was Berthier, and other members were Marmont, Murat and Junot. The divisions were commanded by Masséna, Augereau and Sérurier, while serving in subordinate positions were Lannes, Bessières, Suchet and Victor, all of whom were destined to attain distinction under the Empire.

General Colli, an officer of high reputation, commanded the Piedmontese army of about 20,000 men, and the Austrian forces, about 40,000 strong, were under the command of Beaulieu, an experienced general but old and inactive.

Bonaparte at once began to concentrate his forces at Savona, near one of the few passes through the mountains. At the same time, he sent a column along the coast towards Genoa, with the idea of bringing pressure to bear upon that State for the payment of an indemnity

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on account of the seizure of a French vessel by the British within its neutral port. On hearing of this movement, Beaulieu with the bulk of his forces marched to the protection of Genoa; and at the same time gave one of his lieutenants, Argenteau, orders to cross the mountains from Montenotte to Savona, that is to say, by the same route which Bonaparte had chosen to enter Piedmont. This movement, if successful, would have cut the French line in two, and endangered that part of the army between Savona and Genoa, but Argenteau met an unexpected obstacle. This was a simple redoubt defended by 1200 men under Colonel Rampon, who for twenty-four hours held off 12,000 Austrians and gave Bonaparte time to come up with his army.

At midnight on the 11 April, the French began their advance from Savona, and when the mountain mists rolled up on the following morning, Argenteau found himself confronted by the divisions of Augereau and Laharpe, while behind him was the division of Masséna. Nearly surrounded by superior forces, he was compelled to beat a precipitate retreat upon Dego, leaving two thousand prisoners in the hands of the French.

The next day Bonaparte turned upon the Piedmontese and drove them back on Ceva, after having cut off one of their divisions, which was forced to surrender twenty-four hours later.

Leaving only the division of Augereau to contain the Piedmontese, Bonaparte then concentrated the rest of his forces against the Austrians, and on the 14 April drove them from Dego, capturing eight thousand prisoners.

Thus after three days' fighting, Bonaparte had succeeded in separating the two allied armies. The Austrians were in full retreat on Acqui, and the Piedmontese on Ceva and Mondovi, while the French army, in a central position, was master of both roads and able to turn against either enemy at will.

Leaving the division of Laharpe to ward off any renewal of the offensive by the Austrians, Bonaparte now started in pursuit of the demoralized Piedmontese, who

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abandoned their entrenched position at Ceva, and fell back to Mondovi, where Bonaparte overtook and defeated them on the 21 April. Four days later he was at Cherasco, only ten leagues from Turin. Here on the 28 April, an armistice was signed by which Piedmont agreed to withdraw from the coalition, disband her army, give up three of her strongest fortresses, and cede Nice and Savoie to France.

In less than three weeks, Bonaparte had won six battles, killed or captured more than 12,000 men, taken over forty cannon, detached the Sardinians from their allies and forced them to make a separate peace, and had acquired as a base for future operations the fortresses of Coni, Tortona and Alessandria, with artillery, magazines and stores.

In signing this armistice, Bonaparte had certainly gone beyond his authority, and he had also violated the instructions of the Directory, which were to act especially against the Austrians. This was the first occasion on which he had commanded in chief before the enemy, and he knew that his appointment had not been favorably received by several of his generals, like Masséna and Augereau, who were much older and had seen much longer service than he. But the young general, full of confidence in himself, assumed from the first that air of authority and determination which was so natural to him, and the murmurs of discontent were soon hushed in the face of the dazzling splendor of his victories.

The formal treaty of peace signed at Paris the 15 May 1796 by the agent of Victor Amadeus confirmed, and even aggravated the clauses of the armistice. Besides renouncing Nice and Savoie, Sardinia agreed to give up six additional fortresses and to pay a contribution of three millions.

On the seventh of May, the Directory decided to give to Kellermann a part of the troops of the Army of Italy, with orders to occupy Lombardy, while Bonaparte with the rest of his army was to be sent to the south. The conflict of authority was brief but decisive. Bonaparte

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wrote the Directory that he was willing to serve under Kellermann, or with Kellermann under him, but that no advantage could be obtained from the proposed division of authority. The majority of the Directory, Carnot, Barras, and Le Tourneur, sided with Bonaparte, and the order was annulled on the 21 May.

Bonaparte, however, had not awaited this decision at Paris before continuing his advance. With the purpose of deceiving the Austrians as to his future plans, he had put a clause in the armistice providing that the town of Valenza on the Po should be surrendered to him. Expecting that the French would attempt the passage of the river at that point, Beaulieu strongly fortified the approaches to the river, and also prepared a second line of defence at Pavia, behind the Ticino. But Napoleon, after making a feint at Valenza, marched his army rapidly down the right bank of the river to Placentia, a point about twenty-four miles below the junction of the Ticino with the Po. Here he crossed without serious opposition, and thus turned both of the positions so carefully fortified by the Austrians. If Beaulieu continued to remain at Milan, his line of retreat towards the Adige and the Tyrol would be cut off: he therefore decided to evacuate Lombardy and retire behind the Mincio within the lines of the celebrated Quadrilateral.

On the 10 May, there was a rear-guard skirmish at Lodi between the Austrians and the French, the importance of which has been very much exaggerated on account of its spectacular features. The French, after a short but spirited contest, carried the bridge by storm, and took two thousand prisoners.

The citadel of Milan, in which the Austrians had placed a small garrison, surrendered a few days later, and on the 15 May Bonaparte entered the city under a triumphal arch, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the populace.

After remaining a few days at Milan, Bonaparte set out in pursuit of the Austrians. Their position within the

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Quadrilateral was one of great strength. The river Min-cio, which carries off the surplus waters of Lake Garda, forms the chief interior barrier of Italy against all foreign invaders. On its lowest course, where the river widens out into a semicircular lagoon, flanked by marshes, is the historic town of Mantua. This city, with Legnago, Verona and Peschiera, forms the most famous strategical position of modern history, the celebrated Quadrilateral, commanding the north side of the valley of the Po together with the passes of the Adige.

After making a demonstration against Peschiera, in order to deceive the enemy, on the 29 May Bonaparte attacked the Austrian centre and carried the bridge at Borghetto. A part of the Austrian army retired into the Tyrol, while the remainder took refuge in Mantua, which was now invested.

Bonaparte took advantage of the pause in active military operations to turn to other matters. He imposed an armistice, with heavy contributions, upon the Duke of Parma, the Duke of Modena, and upon the Papal States. Naples agreed to recall the small contingent which had co-operated with the Austrians. A French division occupied Leghorn, and the English vessels were forced to set sail.

Bonaparte took this occasion to issue another of his flaming proclamations:

“Soldiers! You have descended like a torrent from the summit of the Apennines; you have overthrown and dispersed everything that opposed your progress. Piedmont, delivered from the Austrian tyranny, has returned to her natural sentiments of peace and friendship for France. Milan is yours, and the republican flag waves throughout all Lombardy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence to your generosity. The army which menaced you with so much pride no longer finds a barrier to protect itself against your arms. The Po, the Ticino, and the Adda have not checked your progress for a single day; these boasted bulwarks of Italy have been crossed as rapidly as the Apennines.”

Alarmed at Bonaparte's progress, Austria now deter-

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mined to make a great effort for the relief of Mantua and the recovery of Italy. The Austrian army in the Tyrol was increased to 60,000 men and put under the command of Marshal Wurmser, an old man but a brave soldier, who had distinguished himself in several campaigns. Besides the main Austrian force, there were 12,000 men shut up in Mantua.

Bonaparte had altogether 45,000 men: one division, 10,000 strong, was besieging Mantua, while the others were posted at Legnago and Verona.

From Trent, the headquarters of the Austrian army, there were three direct routes to the Quadrilateral: one by the west side of Lake Garda, the other two down the Adige, on the east side of the lake — one to Rivoli by the right bank of the river and the other to Verona by the left bank.

Wurmser, with the idea of enveloping and capturing the whole French army, divided his forces into two corps: one, 25,000 strong, commanded by Quasdanovich, took the route by the west side of the lake, while the other, 35,000 strong, commanded by Wurmser himself, descended the Adige in two columns, one on each side of the river.

On the 30 July, Bonaparte learned that the Austrians were advancing on both sides of the lake. He immediately raised the siege of Mantua and concentrated all his available troops at the lower end of Lake Garda. On the first day of August, he attacked and defeated Quasdanovich and forced him back into the mountains on the west side of the lake. He then turned back his columns and marched to meet Wurmser, who had directed one of his divisions on Lonato and another on Castiglione, while with the main part of his army he continued his march to Mantua.

On the third of August Bonaparte attacked and defeated the two Austrian divisions which had crossed the Mincio. In the meantime Wurmser had arrived at Mantua, revictualled the garrison, and then marched out to find the French. On the fifth of August, the Austrians were defeated for the second time at Castiglione, driven

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back across the river, and finally forced to retire into the Tyrol. The siege of Mantua was then resumed.

The operations around Castiglione had been admirable from a military point of view, but they had neither destroyed the enemy nor brought peace nearer. In less than two weeks Wurmser had organized in the Tyrol another army, which he divided into two corps of nearly equal strength. Leaving Davidovich with 20,000 men in the Tyrol, with the remainder of his force, 26,000 strong, the marshal prepared to descend the valley of the Brenta by a road which follows the river's course as far as Bassano, and then passes through Vicenza into the valley of the Adige at Verona.

Having received reënforcements, Bonaparte now had about 42,000 men. Leaving 8000 to continue the siege of Mantua, and 3000 to hold the fortifications at Verona, he himself with the main part of his army ascended the Adige. Early in September he attacked and defeated Davidovich, drove him further into the Tyrol, and gained possession of Trent. Until Bonaparte reached this point, he was not aware of Wurmser's march down the Brenta. Leaving a small force in the Tyrol to contain the defeated Austrians, with two divisions he hurried to overtake Wurmser. Marching fifty miles in two days he came up with the Austrians at Bassano. In the battle which ensued, the Austrians were decisively defeated. A part of their forces found refuge in the mountainous districts of Friuli, while Wurmser himself with the remainder of his army, about 12,000 men, succeeded in reaching Mantua in safety.

The Austrian government now decided to make still another effort to overwhelm Bonaparte and relieve Mantua, where Wurmser was besieged with 20,000 men. By the middle of October the Austrian army was increased to 50,000 men, while Bonaparte had hardly 40,000, including the 8000 troops who were besieging Mantua. The new Austrian army was put under the command of Alvinzy. At the end of October, the military position was as follows: Alvinzy with 30,000 men was

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on the Piave, threatening an advance on Vicenza; Davidovich with 20,000 more was in the Tyrol; and the main French army which numbered about 30,000 was at Verona.

The new offensive began on the first day of November and at first was quite successful. On the sixth, Masséna was driven back at Bassano, and on the twelfth, Bonaparte himself was repulsed at Caldiero, and was forced to retreat to Verona, with a loss of 3000 men.

The French position was now very critical. Davidovich had descended the Adige and was only held in check by a single division occupying the strong position of Rivoli. Only a few miles separated the two Austrian armies and it seemed as if their junction could not be prevented.

At this critical moment Bonaparte decided to undertake one of the most daring turning movements recorded in history. He ordered Kilmaine to withdraw from the siege of Mantua with 2000 troops, take command at Verona, and hold it till the last. Then with about 20,000 troops he left Verona, descended the Adige, and threw a bridge across the river at Ronco. His plan was to cross the little river Alpon which flows into the Adige at this point, seize the defile of Villa Nova through which Alvinzy had just passed and so cut off his retreat. A narrow causeway, traversing a marshy plain cut by canals, joins Ronco to Arcole, and is terminated, at the entrance of Arcole, by a little wooden bridge across the Alpon. Bonaparte had thought that he would surprise the enemy, but two battalions of Croats with two cannon had been sent by Alvinzy to protect his flank, and the French were foiled in all their efforts to carry the bridge.

The battle which had begun on the 15 November was continued on the two following days. On the last day, Bonaparte finally succeeded in crossing the river and took Arcole in reverse. He then employed a skilful ruse to add to the discouragement of his foes. He posted a small body of horsemen behind a little clump of woods near the Austrian flank, with orders to sound their

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bugles, as if for a great cavalry charge. The demoralized Austrians suddenly gave way and were driven from the field: their retreat did not end until they reached Bassano. Once more Bonaparte was victorious.

In January 1797, the last Austrian attempt to relieve Mantua was made under the same commander. Alvinzy now concentrated his main force, about 30,000 men, and marched down the valley towards Verona, while at the same time two smaller columns threatened the lower Adige from Vicenza and Padua. Aside from the 10,000 troops under Sérurier who were besieging Mantua, Bonaparte had only 32,000 men at his disposal.

On the 12 January, Alvinzy's lieutenant, Provera, approached Verona with one division, and his force was attacked and defeated by Masséna, nearly 1000 Austrians being captured. This easy victory convinced Bonaparte that the Austrian commander was not making his main attack from this direction. The next afternoon he learned that Joubert was hard pressed, and had been forced to fall back upon Rivoli. He sent orders to Joubert to hold the plateau at all hazards, and set out with all of his forces for Rivoli, which he reached at day-break of the 14 January.

The gorge by which the Adige breaks through the lowest foot-hills of the Alps to enter the lowlands has been famous since the earliest times. Just before arriving opposite the plateau at Rivoli the river cuts through the mountain, flows by the town, and thence past Verona and Legnago towards the sea. The Austrians were marching by the two main roads, which lie on opposite sides of the river. Before passing the mountains, Alvinzy had divided his forces into six parts, with the idea of surrounding and capturing the entire French army. One column of 5000 men was descending the river by the road on the left bank, while another column of 9000 men was following the road along the right bank. Three other columns were to pass over the mountain roads and attack the French front, while the sixth column, 4000 strong, was to march around the French left flank and attack them

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in the rear. These six columns were all separated from each other by practically impassable barriers.

When Bonaparte arrived at Rivoli just before daybreak on the 14 January, he had only the division of Joubert in hand, but Masséna would soon be up with 8000 more. With these 18,000 men, he had to meet 28,000 Austrians, who, however, were so separated that he was able easily to beat them in detail. The battle ended in the worst defeat and the most complete rout which the Imperial arms had thus far sustained. The beaten army was pursued into the Tyrol, and 13,000 prisoners were captured in the next two days. The battle of Rivoli is considered one of Bonaparte's greatest tactical victories.

In the meantime, Provera, with about 8000 Austrians, had forced the line of the Adige and marched rapidly on Mantua with the French in hot pursuit. On the morning of the 15 January, he finally appeared before Mantua with 6000 men. Here he was held in check for thirty-six hours by the blockading French army until Bonaparte came to the rescue.

Immediately after the battle of Rivoli Bonaparte had started for Mantua with Masséna's division. Although these troops had been marching and fighting continuously for the last twenty-four hours, under Bonaparte's inspiration they marched all night on the fourteenth and the whole of the next day, and on the morning of the sixteenth were ready for battle in front of Mantua. That morning there was a general engagement on the road from the city to "La Favorita," a country seat of the Duke, which gave its name to the battle. Provera attacked in front, while Wurmser sallied out from the fortress at the head of a strong force. The latter was thrown back into the town by Sérurier, who commanded the besiegers, while Provera was attacked by Victor and so badly beaten that he was forced to surrender his entire army.

In four days the Army of Italy had fought two pitched battles; had taken 25,000 prisoners, including three general officers; had captured 20 standards and 60 pieces of artillery, and had killed or wounded 6000 men. The

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short campaign of Rivoli was the turning point of the war. In ten months Bonaparte had subdued Italy and humiliated the proudest empire on the Continent.

The victories of Rivoli and La Favorita destroyed the last hopes of Wurmser, and on the second of February the starving garrison surrendered.

On the 9 February the French troops under Victor entered Ancona, which was surrendered by Colli. Bonaparte proceeded there, and levied a heavy contribution on the city. He was within a few days' marches of Rome, and the Pope opened negotiations. By the Treaty of Tolentino, signed on the 19 February, the Pope made important territorial cessions and agreed to make a contribution of fifteen millions, in addition to the sixteen millions previously levied which he had not yet paid.

This treaty was the first which Bonaparte signed in the name of France. At this time General Clarke was sent to Tolentino by the Directory as an "envoy extraordinary" with the mission to negotiate with Austria. He soon left Tolentino, however, and went to Turin where he concluded a treaty with the new king, Charles Emmanuel, by which Sardinia entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with France against the Emperor, and agreed to furnish a contingent of 9000 men.

In the spring of 1797 Austria decided to make one more supreme effort to regain Italy. The young Archduke Charles, who had won great glory on the Rhine, was recalled to take command of the Imperial forces and prevent the French from advancing by the now open road to Vienna. This brother of the Emperor, then only twenty-five years of age, was in his day second only to Napoleon as a general. His army, unlike the others, was inferior in numbers to the French, who had been reënforced by the arrival of Bernadotte with 15,000 men. It was on this occasion that Bonaparte made the celebrated remark, that up to the present time he had had to fight armies without generals, now he was to meet a general without an army.

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The campaign was not long, for the Austrian forces were inferior in every respect to the French. Bonaparte marched rapidly to the Tagliamento, which he reached on the 16 March, long before he was expected. The following night the French forded the stream, took the Austrians by surprise, and forced them to retire. Masséna captured Tarvis, and Bonaparte crossed the pass and entered Germany. At the end of the month of March, Charles, with his army largely reduced, was beyond the river Mur, on the road to Vienna.

On the last day of March, Napoleon addressed to Charles his well-known "philosophical letter" suggesting a suspension of hostilities. He continued his pursuit, however, and after the capture of Leoben, on the seventh of April, was within one hundred miles of the Austrian capital. Then at last the Imperial Cabinet decided to treat for peace. By the preliminaries signed on the 18 April, France was to have Belgium and the line of the Rhine, while Austria obtained the mainland of Venice, together with Istria and Dalmatia.

When the terms of Leoben reached Paris they were ratified as a matter of course, even though Bonaparte had no powers to negotiate a treaty. The Directors notified him, however, that he must not interfere further in the affairs of Venice. This order reached him on the eighth of May, but just a week before Venice as an independent state had ceased to exist.

At the very moment that the peace negotiations were being concluded, the inhabitants of the Venetian mainland rose against the invaders, and there were massacres of the French at Verona and elsewhere. These events gave Bonaparte a good excuse for his action: the Venetian mainland was given to Austria to indemnify her for further cessions which France exacted elsewhere.

The negotiations with Austria for a permanent peace dragged on slowly throughout the summer and far into the autumn of 1797, mainly owing to the hopes of the Emperor that events in France would turn to his advantage. Such might have been the case had not Bonaparte,



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while striking down the Royalists at Paris, through his lieutenant, Augereau, retained his victorious army in Venetia, ready again to invade Austria should the occasion arise. The progress of the negotiations was helped by the coup d'état of Fructidor, which seemed to render impossible, at least for the present, the return of the Bourbons.

Towards the middle of September Bonaparte, accompanied by Joséphine, took up his residence in the château of Passeriano, a fine country mansion situated on the left bank of the Tagliamento about four leagues from Udine. The negotiations had reached a point where it was necessary to conclude or break them off. At a decisive interview with the Austrian plenipotentiaries on the 16 October, it seemed impossible to reach an agreement. Arising from his seat, and stamping his foot on the floor, Bonaparte exclaimed: "You wish war; very well, you shall have it!" Then seizing a magnificent porcelain liqueur set, he dashed it on the floor where it broke into a thousand fragments. "Look," he cried, "such will be your Austrian monarchy before three months have elapsed!"

On leaving the conference chamber, Bonaparte gave orders to notify the Archduke Charles of the resumption of hostilities, after a delay of twenty-four hours. The following day the Peace of Campo-Formio was signed! It bore the name of a village situated halfway between Udine and Passeriano.

The principal articles of the treaty may be thus summarized: Austria ceded to the French Republic, Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, while Austria acquired Istria, Dalmatia, the city of Venice and the mainland of Venetia as far west as Lake Garda, the Adige and the lower part of the river Po.

Leaving Italy a month later, Bonaparte travelled by way of Geneva to Rastadt, where he attended the congress. He finally reached Paris on the evening of the fifth of December, and took up his residence at the little hôtel in the Rue Chanteraine, from which he had de-

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parted twenty-one months before an obscure man, to which he returned as a celebrity.

As the result of Bonaparte's conquest of Italy, the coalition had been dissolved, and Austria had formally recognized the French Republic. More than one hundred millions of francs had been levied in Italy, one half of which had supported the army, while the other half, transmitted to Paris, had been used for the expenses of the government and the support of the armies on the Rhine. In addition, the Louvre had been enriched by the masterpieces from the galleries of Parma, Florence and Rome, which were valued at more than two hundred millions.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

1797-1799

THE SECOND COALITION

Foreign Policy of the Directory — Intervention in Switzerland — Mulhouse and Geneva United to France — Rome Occupied by French Troops — The Congress of Rastadt — Attitude of Prussia — Bernadotte at Vienna — Sieyès at Berlin — Rupture with the United States — Plans for the Invasion of England — Bonaparte Favors a Descent on Egypt — The Expedition Decided Upon — Malta and Alexandria Captured — Battle of the Pyramids — The French Fleet Destroyed — The Syrian Expedition — Bonaparte Returns to France — Organization of the Second Coalition — Declaration of War — Occupation of Tuscany — Conquest of Naples — Operations in Germany and Switzerland — First Reverses in Italy — Joubert Defeated and Killed at Novi — Battle of Zurich — Rupture of the Coalition

AFTER Campo-Formio, the foreign policy of the Government was uncertain and constantly changing. The Directors, the ministers, the generals and the diplomats, all had their own ideas, and there was no coherency, or unity of action. There was only one way of securing the general peace which every one desired: that was to pacify the Continent, and force England to abandon the conflict by leaving her isolated. But instead of adopting this sane and sound policy, the Directors stirred up fresh troubles and created new foes by their intervention in Switzerland and in Italy, and made peace impossible.

At the end of the year 1796, La Harpe, an avocat of Berne, had established himself at Paris, where he began an active propaganda in favor of the "Vaudois patriots" against the "tyrants of Berne." The district of Vaud was a dependent of the canton of Berne, to which it had been ceded by Savoie, and the people wished to obtain a

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restitution of their franchises. When Bonaparte traversed Switzerland on his way from Italy to the Congress of Rastadt, he openly sided with the patriots. After his arrival at Paris, on the 10 December 1797, with the approval of Reubell, he sent to the Vaud frontier the division of Masséna from the Army of Italy. The following week, Augereau sent a detachment from the Army of the Rhine, under the command of Saint-Cyr, which began the occupation of the valleys of the Jura. On the 28 December the Directors formally announced that France had taken the Vaudois under her direction.

The little republic of Mulhouse, enclosed within the department of the Haut-Rhin, made a specialty of the manufacture of indiennes, or printed calicoes, which competed with similar goods produced in France. Two deputies who had been sent to Paris to negotiate a treaty of commerce, returned with the idea of a union with France. By a treaty, signed the last of January 1798, which was unanimously ratified by all the inhabitants, and was made a law by a vote of the two Councils a month later, the citizens of Mulhouse were made French citizens, but were to be exempt from all military charges and remain neutral until the conclusion of the general peace. On the 15 March, Mulhouse was definitely incorporated in the French nation.

The citizens of Geneva were not so unanimous in desiring a union with France, but after long negotiations, a treaty, based upon that with Mulhouse, was signed on the 26 April. This city also was to remain neutral until the general peace; but the fortifications and the arsenals of the town were immediately placed at the disposition of the French Government. By the law of the 25 August 1798, Geneva became the chef-lieu of the new department of Léman.

In the meantime, the Directory had sent an expedition to the Papal States. General Duphot was at Rome for the purpose of marrying Désirée Clary, the sister-in-law of the French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte. The eve of the marriage there was a collision between the Papal troops

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and the Roman patriots, and several of the latter took refuge in the palace of the ambassador. They were pursued by the police, and during the disorder which followed, Duphot was killed under the eyes of Joseph, who left Rome the same night. When this news was received at Paris, the Directory, after a consultation with Bonaparte, decided upon a military intervention. On the 9 February, General Berthier arrived at Rome and submitted to the Pope a series of demands, to all of which the Holy Father consented. On the 19 February Masséna arrived to replace Berthier, and on the following day the Pope was exiled to Tuscany.

At the outset, it had been hoped that the congress which had been sitting at Rastadt since the month of December 1797 would succeed in arranging a definite peace. The congress was attended by four delegations: from the Diet of the Empire; from Austria and Prussia; and from France. Bonaparte, who was the principal envoy appointed by the Directory, made only a short appearance at Rastadt on his way to Paris, to ensure the ratification of the Treaty of Campo-Formio. His withdrawal much weakened the French mission. Nevertheless, Treilhard and his associate obtained one important decision: that France should have the boundary of the Rhine; but only on condition that Austria, under the terms of the treaty, should have a supplementary indemnity. Austria thereupon demanded that the Papal States should be assigned her, leaving the Pope only Rome and its vicinity. This idea was not acceptable to Bonaparte, who did not care to see Austria obtain a new foothold in Italy. On the 27 February, he refused to admit this proposition, and in return the Emperor declined to sanction the agreement regarding the Rhine frontier.

While these negotiations were going on, Prussia maintained an attitude of neutrality. She knew that the treaty contained a secret clause which was unfavorable to her, but was ignorant of its tenor. France could not obtain the left bank of the Rhine without the assent of Prussia, and that Government interpreted all French propositions as

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so many traps. The death of Frederick William the Second and the succession of Frederick William the Third, on the 16 November 1797, did not in any way modify the attitude of Prussia. In vain France increased her offers, even going so far as to promise Hanover, the city of Hamburg, and the imperial crown. The King replied that he could not agree to any proposition as long as he was ignorant of the advantages promised to Austria.

After the French Government had refused the Austrian propositions for indemnity in Italy, the prime minister, Thugut, turned towards Prussia. He knew that the new Czar, Paul the First, was very hostile to France, and he had the Emperor Francis write an autograph letter to the Czar to request his good offices with the King of Prussia. The Czar sent a cordial reply, and in his letter outlined the plan of a defensive league of Russia, England, Austria and Prussia, against France. This seems to have been the first suggestion of the organization of the Second Coalition.

In April an unfortunate incident occurred at Vienna which seemed likely to lead to an immediate resumption of hostilities between Austria and France. In January General Bernadotte had been appointed French ambassador at Vienna, but he was not well received by the Court. Realizing the inutility of his mission, on the 12 April 1798 he demanded his recall. On the following day he hung out over the door of his hôtel a large tricolor flag. It happened to be a market-day, and the crowd became excited, tore the flag, and even entered the hôtel. The ambassador was not rescued from the mob until late in the evening, after having three times asked for help. Bernadotte was not satisfied with the excuses made by the Government, and left Vienna on the 15 April.

This episode was serious, and if Thugut succeeded in obtaining the alliance of Prussia and Russia, as he hoped, it meant war. It was arranged that there should be a special conference at Rastadt to attempt to arrive at an understanding. Austria designated Cobenzl as special envoy, and the Directory named Bonaparte, who again

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refused to serve and was replaced by François de Neufchâteau. The meeting was held, not at Rastadt, but at Seltz, in Alsace, on the opposite bank of the Rhine. Cobenzl again demanded indemnities in Italy, which he wished even larger than before, on account of the French aggrandizements in Switzerland and at Rome. The French envoy could obtain no satisfaction for the insult to Bernadotte at Vienna. At the end of the conference Talleyrand wrote: "Ce n'est point la guerre, ce n'est point la paix."

In June a new French ambassador arrived at Berlin: the illustrious Sieyès in person. His prestige was so great at Paris that it was imagined that he could arrange all the matters in dispute with the Prussian Government. He did his best, and was actively aided by Talleyrand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris. He submitted to the Prussian Government a succinct proposition, one of those of which he made a specialty: "the Directory will make peace with you, without you, or against you." But the mission was a failure, and by the beginning of October, it was evident that Prussia would refuse to ally herself with France.

While these unsuccessful negotiations were going on, the war with England continued. In the opinion of the Directory, two Powers could be of use in alliance with France: Spain and the United States. In Spain, Talleyrand had opened secret negotiations with the all-powerful Godoy to whom he sent a secret emissary. To secure his good services the French minister offered a large *gratification*. But nothing came of the matter, and the Spanish fleet remained blockaded at Cadiz. With the United States relations had become very strained. President John Adams had sent as envoys to Paris three senators, Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry, who were presented to Talleyrand on the 8 October 1797. At the beginning of the negotiations, Talleyrand discreetly informed the American envoys that if they wished for success it would be necessary to pay him an honorarium of a million francs, and to obtain from their Government a large subscription to

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the loan recently offered to cover the expenses of the English war. Very much disappointed, Pinckney and his followers returned to America, where they published the proofs of the venality of Talleyrand. This scandal, which was hushed up in France, made a great sensation on both sides of the Atlantic. The United States Government issued letters of marque and reprisal, and the American corsairs attacked French ships wherever found. The French corsairs retaliated, and France and the United States were virtually in a state of war.

When Bonaparte arrived in Paris from the Congress of Rastadt, on the fifth of December 1797, he was the most powerful and the most popular man in France. General-in-chief of the Army of Italy, and commander of the Army of England, a position to which he was appointed on the 26 October, he had in his hands the supreme control of the military forces of the State; while as chief of the French delegation at Rastadt he had charge of the principal foreign affairs of the Republic. As the Conqueror of Italy, the author of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, and the preserver of the Constitution on the day of Fructidor, he was admired and loved by all his countrymen.

Young, ambitious, rich with the wealth of Italy, he naturally aspired to the supreme power in the State. He desired nothing more nor less than a revision of the Constitution in his favor. He wrote: "It is such a great misfortune for a nation of thirty million inhabitants to be obliged to have recourse to bayonets to save the country!" The difficulty was to find a way for him to participate in the government. He could not be a Director, because he was only twenty-eight, and lacked twelve years of the necessary age. The Constitution indeed provided for an "assembly of revision," but the necessary formalities would take nine years. After mature reflection, he made up his mind that the "pear was not yet ripe," and decided upon an expedition to the Orient.

In spite of his failure in 1796, Hoche had always be-

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lieved in the possibility of a successful descent upon Ireland. At the time of his death he was on his way to Holland to arrange for the coöperation of the Dutch fleet. This fleet was later completely annihilated by the British in the naval battle of Camperdown, on the 11 October 1797. Nevertheless, the idea of such an expedition was not given up.

In February 1798 Bonaparte made a two weeks' visit of inspection to the strong places on the Channel, and on his return made a formal report to the Government against the project. The Directory was very much surprised, and still more so when Bonaparte proposed instead to make a descent upon Egypt. Such was the ascendancy of Bonaparte, however, that he had little difficulty in obtaining the consent of the Directory. Talleyrand approved of the plan, and almost the only person to raise objections was Reubell. With his usual activity Bonaparte immediately took steps to put his plans into execution.

The preparations were quickly made. The troops detached from the armies of England, Switzerland, and of Italy, to form the Army of the Orient, gathered at the ports of Toulon, Genoa and Civita-Vecchia. The Bernadotte episode at Vienna only delayed the departure of Bonaparte by a few days. He left Paris the night of the third of May, arrived at Toulon the ninth, and embarked ten days later. The fleet, under the orders of Brueys, comprised 335 vessels of all kinds, of which thirteen were ships of the line. The fleet was manned by 16,000 sailors, and the expeditionary force amounted to 38,000 men, with 1200 horses and 170 cannon. To accompany him, Bonaparte had chosen no less than thirty-two generals, and in addition there were 215 civil, scientific, literary and artistic collaborateurs. No one except Bonaparte knew the destination of the expedition.

The voyage was very slow and the fleet did not arrive before Malta until the ninth of June. The troops disembarked on the tenth, and the following day, after a short resistance, the Knights of Saint John surrendered the

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island. Leaving a small garrison, the expedition then continued on its way to Egypt.

On the evening of the first of July 1798 the fleet anchored off Alexandria. The troops disembarked during the night, and the following day took Alexandria by storm.

Egypt at that time was nominally under the sovereignty of Turkey, but the country was really dominated by the Mamelukes, who were commanded by two beys, Murad and Ibrahim.

Leaving a garrison of 3000 men at Alexandria, with his flotilla Bonaparte began the ascent of the Nile, the troops marching parallel to the river. En route, an attack of the Mamelukes was easily defeated, and on the 21 July the French arrived in view of the Pyramids, on the opposite side of the river from Cairo. On that day was fought the celebrated battle of the Pyramids in which Bonaparte decisively defeated the Mamelukes. Murad retired to the south, to Upper Egypt, and Ibrahim fled to the north towards Syria. Two days after the battle the French took possession of Cairo. In all of these encounters, Bonaparte had arranged his troops in a square. Each corps was drawn up in lines six deep on the sides, the artillery at the angles, the officers, the cavalry and the baggage in the centre. The French reserved their fire until the enemy was within fifty paces, and the cavalry of the Mamelukes hurled themselves in vain against the wall of bayonets.

On returning to Cairo, after pursuing Ibrahim into the Syrian desert, Bonaparte learned of the destruction of his fleet: a terrible and unexpected blow. Before leaving Alexandria he had given orders to Brueys to report to him whether it was possible for the French fleet to enter the harbor of Alexandria, and, if not, whether it could remain safely at anchor at Aboukir. If neither of these courses was practicable, the admiral was to sail for Corfu. Brueys found that the harbor was too shallow to admit the larger French vessels, but thought he could remain safely in the roadstead of Aboukir.

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On the second of May Nelson had been detached from the fleet that was blockading Cadiz, to go in search of information regarding the preparations at Toulon. He arrived off that port on the 17 May, but was driven out to sea by an adverse wind, and was not able to return until ten days after the departure of the French expedition. He immediately started in pursuit, but, with his faster vessels, he passed the French fleet during the night, and arrived at Alexandria two days before Bonaparte. Not finding the expedition there he set sail for Corfu, and it was not until the latter part of July that he learned of the arrival of the French in Egypt.

The English fleet was signalled about two o'clock on the afternoon of the first of August, and the attack began about five o'clock. The French vessels were anchored in a line parallel to the coast, and were not able to manœuvre. Nelson ordered some of his vessels to sail between the French fleet and the shore, and Brueys was therefore taken between two fires. The French resisted bravely but their fleet was almost entirely destroyed, and the admiral was killed at his post. Two vessels only, which were placed at the end of the line, and had not participated in the combat, succeeded in making their escape, under the command of Villeneuve. More than 5500 French were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. It was the greatest British victory since the commencement of the war.

Undaunted by this terrible blow, Bonaparte proceeded with his plans for the subjection of Egypt. Desaix was sent to occupy Upper Egypt, and during a period of nearly eight months he was engaged in the pursuit of different bands of Mamelukes under the command of Murad. In Syria, Ahmed Pasha, called Djezzar ("the butcher"), on account of his cruelty, governed the district in the name of the Sultan. He had received Turkish reënforcements, and had been joined by Ibrahim with his Mamelukes; and he was now determined to reconquer Egypt. As usual, Bonaparte decided that attack was the best form of defence. The Syrian expedition had no other object. It is not possible that Bonaparte had any idea of

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returning to Europe by way of Constantinople, or of invading India, both of which chimerical projects have been attributed to him.

The Syrian expeditionary force was made up of about 13,000 men. In rapid succession, it took El-Arich, which was defended by Ibrahim; Gaza, where a large supply of provisions was found; and Jaffa. It only remained to occupy Saint-Jean-d'Acre. But on the 14 March (four days before the arrival of Bonaparte), Djezzar had been reinforced by a small British squadron commanded by Sidney Smith, who was accompanied by Napoleon Bonaparte's old enemy, Phélippeaux, who, it will be remembered, had assisted Smith to escape from prison at Paris. A siege train, which Bonaparte had sent by sea to Acre, had been captured by Smith, and his guns were now mounted against him on the walls of the city. The defence was organized by the former comrade of Bonaparte, and the first French assault on the 28 March failed. A Turkish army which had marched from Damascus to the relief of the city was easily defeated and dispersed at the battle of Mont-Tabor in April.

In the meantime the siege of Acre dragged on; and several new attempts to take the place by storm, during the first weeks of May, resulted in failure. On the 20 May, Bonaparte was obliged to raise the siege, and set out on his return to Egypt.

The French had hardly reached Cairo on their return when news was received that an Anglo-Turkish fleet under the command of Sidney Smith had appeared at the mouths of the Nile and disembarked a Turkish army of 18,000 men. Marmont was in command of Alexandria with 4500 troops, and Bonaparte collected every available man and rushed to his assistance. The enemy was already investing Alexandria when he arrived. On the 25 July at Aboukir he defeated and entirely destroyed the Turkish army.

After the victory, while arranging an exchange of prisoners with Sidney Smith, Bonaparte sent him some coffee and cognac, and in return the admiral sent Bonaparte a

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batch of recent English newspapers. From these papers Bonaparte learned for the first time of the formation of the Second Coalition, of the French reverses in Italy, and of the utter disorganization of the government of the Directory at Paris. The pacification of Egypt was practically completed, and he decided that it was his duty under the circumstances to return to France. He gave orders to prepare two frigates, and on the 24 August secretly embarked with a number of his companions-in-arms, including Berthier, Lannes, Marmont, and Murat; his secretary, Bourrienne, and Eugène de Beauharnais. He left the French troops in Egypt under the command of Kléber. The secret departure of Bonaparte for France has frequently been compared by his foes to desertion in the face of the enemy, but the Directory had already, on the 26 May 1799, instructed the general to return to France, leaving behind him, under the orders of a chief of his selection, a part of the expeditionary force to maintain the occupation of the country. It is not positively known whether, owing to the interruption of communications by the British cruisers, this order ever reached Bonaparte; but whether it did or not, the situation in France certainly demanded his return at the earliest possible date.

The results of Nelson's victory at Aboukir were very serious for France. During the months of December and January, treaties of alliance were signed between England, Russia, Turkey, and Naples, with the idea of resisting further French aggrandizements. The objects of the coalition were: to drive the French from Italy; to return to Austria her lost provinces; to restore Holland to the House of Orange; and to confine France within her ancient limits — without the left bank of the Rhine, and without Savoie and Nice. In the beginning, the Second Coalition only included the four Powers above named: Prussia still remained neutral; and Bavaria, under the new elector, Maximilian-Joseph, leaned towards France, through fear of Austria. A project, conceived by Talley-

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rand at the end of 1798, for a league of German princes, similar to the Confederation of the Rhine formed by Napoleon eight years later, was not favored by Sieyès at Berlin, and came to nothing.

The Czar moved at once, and on the sixth of December the first Russian army entered Moravia. A month later at Vienna the troops were passed in solemn review by the Emperor, who demanded as a favor of the Czar that the supreme command of the forces to operate against France in Italy should be confided to Souvarof. The Czar consented, and Souvarof set out for Vienna on the first of March, to rejoin his army, which had already debouched by the Tyrol into Italy.

In the meantime the deliberations of the Congress of Rastadt drew out their weary length. The Directory was sincerely in favor of peace, and during the last weeks had secretly informed the Court of Vienna that it was ready to make large concessions if the army of the Czar would return to Russia. The French Government even went so far as to agree to cede the Legations to Austria, to evacuate Rome and Switzerland, and to open negotiations with England and Turkey for peace. Before the disaster of Aboukir this program undoubtedly would have assured general peace, but now the Czar "had taken the bit between his teeth," and with the puerile vanity of a half-idiot he thought himself the arbiter of the world.

France did not declare war until 12 March 1799, but on the first of that month the French troops had crossed to the right bank of the Rhine, and on the third the Archduke Charles had passed the Lech. The Corps Législatif declared that the Republic was "at war with the Emperor, King of Hungary and of Bohemia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany." Nevertheless, the brother of the Emperor had in no manner acted against France. At the end of March the French troops entered Florence, and the Grand Duke left for Vienna.

To the south of Tuscany, the Neapolitan invasion of Rome resulted in a French expedition to Naples. On the 22 December the Court embarked for Sicily, and the

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French commander set up a provisional republican government.

The first military operations against Austria resulted in no advantage in Germany, or in Switzerland, and disastrously in Italy. The Army of the Rhine under Bernadotte and the Army of the Danube under Jourdan, by a concentrated movement had crossed the Rhine on the same day, the first of March. Jourdan traversed the Black Forest and reached the sources of the Danube. He advanced very slowly, as he wished to keep in touch with Bernadotte on his left, and Masséna on his right, in Switzerland. He finally came in contact with the Archduke Charles on the 21 March, was defeated, and obliged to retreat. Bernadotte at the same time fell back on the Rhine; and the two generals caused a public scandal by leaving their retreating armies and returning to Paris to indulge in mutual recriminations. In the meantime Masséna in Switzerland had obtained no decisive success.

The most arduous task was that allotted to Schérer in Italy. He was opposed by Kray at Verona, and after making several unsuccessful and costly attempts to cross the Adige, he ordered a retreat. The last week in April he resigned his commission, and the command of the Army of Italy was given to Moreau. Kray did not attempt to pursue the French, but awaited at Verona the arrival of his chief, Mélas, who in turn was looking for the appearance of the supreme general Souvarof, with 30,000 Russians. On the arrival of the Russians, the French were attacked and defeated along the line of the Adda, and were unable even to hold Milan, which Souvarof entered on the 28 April.

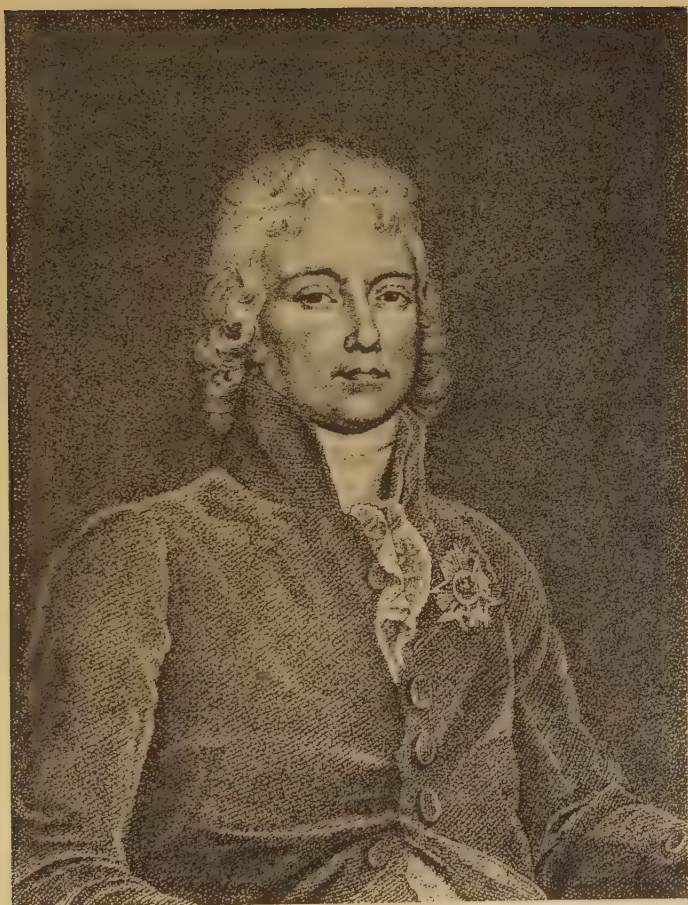
In Switzerland, Masséna retreated slowly before the Archduke Charles until he reached Zurich, where he had previously established a line of entrenchments. Here the first week in June there was a conflict which was known as the first battle of Zurich. Half of Switzerland was in the hands of the enemy, but the prudent defensive tactics of Masséna had kept the French forces concentrated and well in hand.

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The internal political incidents in France, such as the replacement of Reubell by Sieyès in the Directory on the 16 May, and the coup d'état of the 30 Prairial, the 18 June, had no other effect on the conduct of the war than a change in personnel. Bernadotte became Minister of War and Joubert and Moreau obtained the commands of the armies of Italy and of the Rhine, but it was arranged that Moreau should remain temporarily in an advisory capacity with Joubert. The new commander-in-chief arrived in Italy on the second of August, and on the fifteenth was defeated by Souvarof at Novi, where he lost his life. Joubert was young, only thirty; handsome, high-spirited; and yet circumspect. Just before leaving Paris he married Mlle. de Montholon, the step-daughter of Sémonville. The defeat at Novi was decisive, and Genoa was the only point which remained in French hands. Italy was lost, and the general situation seemed desperate. In Holland, Brune with 17,000 men confronted 40,000 English and Russian troops; in Germany there was no French army at all; the entire frontier from Belgium to Nice was threatened.

There were now two manners in which the enemy could exploit their victory: invade France, as Souvarof wished, or complete the conquest of Italy, to reëstablish the domination of Austria. The Aulic Council naturally chose the political rather than the military solution of the problem, and it was decided on the 31 July to place Mélas in supreme command in Italy and to transfer Souvarof and his Russians to Switzerland. The French had already been compelled to abandon Naples, and the Austrians had commenced the occupation of Tuscany. After the departure of Moreau for the Rhine the French had been driven back into Genoa. The Republic, which in January entirely dominated the Peninsula, had entirely lost it in December, and the power of Austria in Italy had never been so great.

At the same time that Souvarof was sent to Switzerland, the Aulic Council decided to transfer the Archduke Charles to Germany to protect the line of the Rhine.



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The Archduke set out the last of August, but contented himself with holding the French army along the Rhine. In Holland, Brune, notwithstanding his numerical inferiority, gained several victories over the Allies and compelled the Duke of York to evacuate the country and return to England. Finally, in Switzerland, Masséna, in an admirable series of manœuvres and combats, to which has sometimes been given the name of the second battle of Zurich, defeated the Russians and compelled them to retire in disorder to the other side of the Rhine.

The Russian troops had been everywhere defeated, but Austria, whose only aim was to reëstablish her domination in Italy, was everywhere victorious. The Czar, beaten and tricked, could not conceal his disgust. The last of October he recalled the remnants of his armies, and suspended military operations. The offensive force of the Coalition was spent, and the Coalition itself already gave signs of disintegration.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

1799

THE RETURN OF BONAPARTE

The News of Bonaparte's Return — Political Changes during His Absence — Coups d'État of Florial and Prairial — The New Directors — Changes in the Ministry — Bonaparte Arrives at Paris — His Reconciliation with Joséphine — Attitude of the Directory — Bonaparte's Plans — Position of Barras — Bonaparte Joins Hands with Sieyès — Details of the Plot — Bonaparte's Adroit Policy — Support of the Army — The Doubtful Generals — The Ministers — Banquet of the Councils — Jourdan Dines with Bonaparte — The Final Orders — Joséphine Invites Gohier to Déjeuner

ON the 19 Vendémiaire of the Year Eight of the Republic, "one and indivisible," the Cinq-Cents were in session in their new hall in the Palais-Bourbon. Suddenly one of the messengers of the Government made his appearance, and the business of the day was suspended for a moment to listen to his announcement: "Citizens! The Directory informs you with pleasure that it has received news from Egypt. On the seventeenth of this month General Berthier landed at Fréjus with General Bonaparte. . . ." Nobody listened to the rest. In a moment the deputies were on their feet, shouting and cheering, while the galleries rang with applause. The session was at once adjourned, and the deputies and spectators spread to every part of Paris to tell the great news. Within an hour, military bands were playing martial airs in the streets; all business was suspended, and Paris was making holiday. That evening in every theatre an actor came on the stage and announced the great news amidst the wild plaudits of the audience.

During the seventeen months that Bonaparte was ab-

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sent in Egypt, there had been many changes in the internal politics of France, but they were of comparatively small importance, and possess little interest for the general reader: they can therefore be treated very briefly.

As the result of the coup d'état of the 22 Florial (11 May 1798), Treilhard was elected director in place of François de Neufchâteau, who had been designated by lot to retire from the Directory. Aged fifty-five years, he had already sat in the Constituent Assembly, and in the Convention, where he had voted in favor of the death of the King, but with recommendation of suspension of sentence. He had been elected to the Cinq-Cents, and his term had not expired until the 20 May 1797. As the Constitution provided that no deputy could become director or minister until one year after the expiration of his legislative functions, at the time he was chosen he lacked four days of being eligible.

On the ninth of May 1799 Reubell was selected by lot to retire and Sieyès was chosen in his place. The loss of Reubell was a severe blow to the Government, as during the absence of Bonaparte, even with Talleyrand as Minister of Foreign Affairs, he had little by little resumed the direction of the external policy of France. A month later Sieyès returned from Berlin to take up his new duties. His election had been generally opposed by his colleagues in the Directory, and from the first he showed his hostility to the Government, which he wished to overthrow. For this purpose, he needed the assistance of a military man, and his first choice was Joubert. But the death of this general at the battle of Novi on the 15 August necessitated a change in his plans, and he made overtures to Moreau, who did not prove very amenable.

On the 17 June, an act was passed by the Corps Législatif annulling the election of Treilhard as being unconstitutional. At the Luxembourg, Merlin and La Revellière were in favor of resisting the decree, but Barras joined hands with Sieyès, and Treilhard yielded. He left the palace and returned as a simple citizen to

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his former home. The same day, Gohier was chosen in his place. Gohier was a personal friend of Garat, of whom he had been at one time the secretary, and then the successor as Minister of Justice. He was now judge of the Tribunal de Cassation. He was a sincere republican, and a man of probity, but without much political stamina.

The following day, the 18 June 1799, occurred the coup d'état of the 30 Prairial. At a session of the Cinq-Cents, two of the Directors, Merlin and La Revellière, were denounced by name. Barras at once took steps to avert a crisis. Aided by Sieyès he succeeded in convincing the two directors that it was advisable for them to resign. Roger Ducos was elected as successor to Merlin, and General Moulin in place of La Revellière. The Directory was now made up of Barras, Sieyès, Gohier, Ducos, and Moulin.

Moulin, an engineer officer, had volunteered in 1791, and had gained his grade of general in La Vendée. In 1794-1795 he had brilliantly commanded in chief the Army of the Alps. Since the month of October 1798 he had been in command of the Army of England, with headquarters at Rennes.

The break in the Directory naturally resulted in the reorganization of the ministry, the principal changes being the appointment of Bernadotte as Minister of War, and the retirement of Talleyrand from the department of Foreign Affairs. At the same time, Cambacérès took the Justice, Lindet the Finances, and Fouché the Police.

The coup d'état of Prairial had, in a way, been similar to a change of ministers in England, as it had modified the whole personnel of the government of the Republic, and brought the Directory and the Ministry into harmony with the majority in the two Councils. It was by nature parliamentary, because the executive was subordinated to the majority of the Chambers. But it was extra-constitutional because the Constitution of the Year Three did not recognize anything of the kind.

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Bonaparte landed at Fréjus on the morning of the ninth of October, and immediately left for Paris. He travelled post-haste, as was his usual custom, only stopping for a night at Lyon, where he attended the theatre. His journey was one long ovation — never had he been received with so much enthusiasm, even on the occasion of his return from Italy two years before. He arrived at Paris early on the sixteenth and went at once to his little hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire, where he found no one to receive him.

Shortly after the departure of Bonaparte for Egypt, Joséphine had purchased the beautiful estate of Malmaison, near Rueil, a few miles from Paris. Here, during the absence of her husband, a certain young officer by the name of Charles had ruled almost as lord and master. Rumors of this state of affairs had reached Bonaparte even in Egypt and excited his jealousy to the last degree. All the way from Fréjus he had carried a bleeding heart in his breast, and it was his fixed intention on his arrival at Paris to put an end to his dishonor by a divorce.

On hearing of his return, Joséphine, in her terror, had hastened to meet and pacify him before he could see his brothers, but she took the wrong route, and missed him entirely. On her return, two days later, Bonaparte locked the door of his room and refused to see her. At the suggestion of a friend, she sent for her children, Eugène and Hortense, who joined their supplications to her own, and finally Bonaparte relented and took Joséphine to his arms. He had made up his mind to forgive, even if he could not forget. From the worldly point of view, it was a wise decision on his part. During his absence, in spite of his orders to Joséphine not to mingle in public affairs, she had manœuvred like a skilled diplomatist, and had well prepared the path for his return. She was on more than intimate terms with her old lover Barras, and with Gohier, the new president of the Directory, who was trying to supplant the ex-vicomte in her affections. Her relations were also very cordial with Talleyrand, Fouché, Cambacérès, and many others, whose support

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was necessary to the success of his plans. It is possible that without the tact of Joséphine, the day of the 19 Brumaire might have been as fatal to his fortunes as that of the 9 Thermidor had been to those of Robespierre.

On the 17 October, the day after his return to Paris, Bonaparte made his official visit to the Directory. He was a strange-looking figure, attired in civilian dress, a round hat and olive-green coat, and it was not easy to recognize him, all the more so because during his absence in Egypt he had cut off his long hair. But the soldiers on guard knew him at once and presented arms. Gohier, who was in the chair, gave him a cordial welcome. On his departure he was cheered by the crowd outside the building.

In the Directory, Ducos was allied with Sieyès, who desired a change in the Constitution, while Gohier and Moulin thought that Bonaparte ought to take a military command. Barras, as usual, occupied a neutral position. Of the five directors elected in 1795, he was the only one who still remained in office; but his term would expire in six months, in May 1800, and he could not be reëlected until after an interval of five years. At the age of forty-four he was too fond of power to leave it without regret. It was evident that he would be willing to do almost anything to retain a permanent position in the Government. He thought that he could easily come to an understanding with Bonaparte. Since 1795, when he had associated Bonaparte with him in the command of the Army of the Interior, they had always been on excellent terms.

Bonaparte returned with the intention of overthrowing the Directory and taking possession of the supreme power of the State. To attain this result, a new revolution seemed to him necessary; but, realizing how much the public was disgusted with violent measures, he dreamed of a peaceful change of government, which would be brought about almost without effort, by the weight of public opinion. He intended that the troops, called upon to coöperate

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in the movement, should act only in the last extremity, and then under the orders of the civil authorities; that any illegality should be carefully veiled, and that the transition from the old to the new régime should be apparent only when the public realized the benefits of the change.

His first thought was to have himself named a member of the Directory: it would be easier to strike the blow from the inside than from the outside of the Government. It would not be difficult to persuade one of the five Directors to resign in his favor. To be sure, the Constitution required that the Directors should be forty years of age, and he was only thirty, but this difficulty might possibly be overcome. This plan, however, was soon abandoned, on account of the constitutional scruples of some of his advisers, and perhaps also from his desire to have a more undivided authority. He decided to take advantage of the preparations already made by those Directors and deputies who for five months had been paving the way for a change in the government. Up to the present time they had not been able to find the man to carry out their plans. Now that Bonaparte had appeared, they would doubtless consent to join their forces to his on condition of remaining in the affair and sharing the benefits.

Nevertheless, Bonaparte hesitated, on account of his personal antipathy for Sieyès. With his straightforward nature, he could not endure a man who was always enveloped in a cloud. For this reason he acted with extreme reserve, and made no advances to Sieyès. The latter, for his part, had too high an opinion of his own importance to make the first move, and his example was followed by Ducos.

In the meantime Bonaparte called on Barras, although he could not have considered seriously the idea of relying upon his support. Sieyès had behind him a party; but Barras had only a court, and what a court! By Barras he was received with open arms. The ex-vicomte already had visions of a republic like the American, with himself as president, and Bonaparte as commander of the armies.

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His vanity refused to abandon to Bonaparte the first place. He could not admit the idea of this little man, whom he had known obscure and miserable, whose foot he had placed in the stirrup, being at the head of the French Government.

It did not take long for Bonaparte to divine the schemes of Barras, which did not at all accord with his own. He also soon realized how low the Director had fallen in public opinion; and he decided to break with the man who personified all the corruption of the directorial régime. On the other hand, he became convinced that Sieyès and his adherents represented all that was best in the government, and formed a solid *point d'appui*. Finally, through the astute diplomacy of Talleyrand, who arranged the "protocole," the two parties were brought together. Under date of the 2 Brumaire the journals announced that, "Bonaparte called yesterday on the Directors Sieyès and Roger Ducos"; and the following day it was reported that these two Directors had returned the visit.

The ice once broken, it was not difficult to reach an understanding. It was agreed on both sides that France was neither administered nor governed, and that the situation of the Republic demanded a change in the Constitution. Bonaparte employed all of his resources of seduction, and easily won Sieyès with a little flattery. "We have no government," said he, "because we have no constitution, or at least not the constitution that we need: your genius must give us one." Sieyès promised to second his plans, provided that the end in view was to save the country and assure liberty. There the matter was left for the present: in public they continued to affect a marked coldness, while common friends acted as emissaries.

His decision once made, Bonaparte acted in conjunction with Sieyès and the friendly faction of the Councils. He was determined to eliminate Barras, and only kept up his relations with him in order to deceive him, and not arouse his hostility. In spite of his venality, Barras still retained a certain prestige. During all the changes of the past three years he was the only Director who had

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guarded his office, and, in the eyes of many functionaries, both civil and military, he represented more than any one else the *Government*. It was therefore important not to incur his ill will, and he seems to have been an easy dupe.

Until Bonaparte had fully decided to break with Barras, he concealed his plans from Lucien, who was a close friend of Sieyès; but during the final days his brother took an active part in the conferences. It was in his presence, and in his little hôtel in the Rue Verte, that during the night of the tenth Bonaparte and Sieyès had a long secret interview in which they came to a definite understanding.

Sieyès brought into the alliance his colleague Roger Ducos, and his supporters in the Anciens and the Cinq-Cents: in short, all his parliamentary forces. This party was not important numerically, but it was thought that it could bring to its support nearly all of the members of the upper chamber, and perhaps a majority of the lower house, under the leadership of its new president, Lucien Bonaparte. Outside of the Government, they also felt sure of the support of the solid class of the *rentiers*, who desired a stable government.

As soon as Bonaparte and Sieyès were in accord, events moved rapidly. By the end of the first *décade* of Brumaire all of the details of the plot were arranged, and in ten days more the coup d'état was carried out. Bonaparte had no plans to form: he had only to put into execution the project already studied and matured by Sieyès and his associates.

The keynote of this plan was to employ the provisions of the existing Constitution for its own destruction. Three articles of the organic law gave to the Anciens the sovereign right, in case of necessity, to change the place of meeting of the Corps Législatif. It was decided to make use of this prerogative to transfer the Councils to Saint-Cloud, where it would be easier to extort from the two assemblies a vote in favor of a revision of the Constitution and the creation of a new executive power. This scheme had the advantage of depriving the Jacobins in

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the Five-Hundred of their popular support at Paris; but it also had the drawback of prolonging the coup d'état over a period of two days, and giving the opposition time to rally its forces. Nevertheless, the former consideration seemed to have more weight: the conspirators did not realize how little interest the Faubourgs now took in politics.

Bonaparte admired the plan, and gave it his entire approval: he declared that he was ready to risk his prestige to see so fine a project carried out. The idea of changing the place of meeting was therefore adopted; but it was necessary to allege a motive, or a pretext of public danger. This was easily found in the machinations of the Jacobins, who for several months had been plotting a revolution, and only waited for the occasion and the man. Proofs, indeed, were lacking, but the Revolutionary vocabulary lent itself readily to vague accusations, and words which carried terror to the minds of the people.

It was therefore arranged that, on the first day, the Anciens, called in extraordinary session, and confronted with the report of an anarchist conspiracy, should decree the transfer to Saint-Cloud. Then, by a stretch of their constitutional powers, under pretext of assuring the execution of the decree, Bonaparte was to be invested with the supreme command of all the troops in the capital.

Sieyès and Ducos were associated in the plot, and the disintegration of the Directory was to be furthered by forcing Barras to send in his resignation. There would then remain only Gohier, who could be bought off, and Moulin, who was a cipher. It would not be necessary to overthrow the Executive: it would dissolve of its own accord.

The two Councils, meeting the second day at Saint-Cloud, under the guard and the restraint of the troops, would vote in favor of the change in the government. The conspirators hoped that it would not be necessary to adopt extreme measures, and that any opposition in the Cinq-Cents would yield to the pressure of public opinion.

As to the exact form of the new régime, there was no definite plan. This indecision necessitated a temporary

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government, to cover the period of transition. The executive power would be entrusted to three Consuls, with a small parliamentary body; and a commission would be appointed to draft a new constitution, to be ratified later by a plébiscite. For the three provisional Consuls, the names of Bonaparte, Sieyès and Ducos were selected. Further details were left to be decided by the course of events. Bonaparte was careful to conceal his hand, and Sieyès was confident that he would be able to dominate the new government. He was the dupe of his pride, as much as Barras was of his vanity.

While working with the chiefs of the revolutionary complot, Bonaparte did not neglect the adverse parties. He made use of all without committing himself to any. At a later date he said: "I received the chiefs of the Jacobins, the agents of the Bourbons; I refused the counsels of no one, but I gave no advice except in the interest of my plans. Every one thought that he had an iron in the fire, and, when I became head of the State, there was not in France a party which did not feel pleased with my success."

Returning home one day, about the 10 Brumaire, after a long conference with Sieyès, he found the card of Jourdan. This general had come to urge him to participate in a coup d'état with the Jacobins, and for their benefit. His call was the result of an agreement reached at a conference held at the home of Bernadotte, where Augereau and other chiefs of the party were present. Bonaparte replied by sending Duroc with an invitation for the general to dine with him on the evening of the 16 Brumaire, which Jourdan accepted.

It did not require any particular effort to secure the enthusiastic support of the troops stationed at Paris. Aside from the guards of the Directory and the Councils, about fifteen hundred in number, the garrison of the capital comprised a little over seven thousand men. Most of these soldiers had served under Bonaparte, and for them he was the "God of War," the man who could perform miracles, who gave his troops at the same time glory, and

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riches, and material comforts. The cavalry regiments seemed particularly sure — especially the Ninth Dragoons, commanded by the Corsican Sébastiani, who served Bonaparte fanatically, through spirit of clan.

Among the generals who might be centres of opposition were Moreau, Augereau, Bernadotte and Jourdan. Moreau was generally considered the second soldier of the Republic, but he had more prestige than popularity, and was not regarded as dangerous. Before Bonaparte's return from Egypt he had never met Moreau personally. Gohier, the president of the Directory, was the medium of bringing them together after a dinner at his house on the 30 Vendémiaire. Bonaparte, with much tact, remarked to Moreau: "General, I had several of your lieutenants with me in Egypt, and they were very distinguished officers." The praise was indirect and the compliment adroit. A few days later, Bonaparte completed the conquest of Moreau by sending him a sabre enriched with diamonds. While keeping aloof from the preliminary intrigues, Moreau declared himself ready to march at the word of command. His secret thought was that Bonaparte, his principal rival, might become immeshed in politics, and leave to him the command of the armies. Augereau also gave but little anxiety. He was a man of imposing personal appearance and martial air, but of limited intelligence, and incapable of taking a decisive stand. Lucien assured his associates that this *matamore* (bully) would obey orders.

With Bernadotte the situation was much more complicated. During his recent administration of the War Office, he had been in the lime-light, and he had no idea now of playing a secondary rôle. Astute, calm, selfish, calculating, of more polished manners than most of the generals, he had considerable powers of command, and real elements of popularity. Although classed as a Jacobin, he seemed, more than the others, to belong among the adherents of Bonaparte, from the fact that he had married Désirée Clary, the sister-in-law of Joseph. But no one was less sure than this relative by marriage who regretted that he

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had not seized the supreme power when he was Minister of War.

Bonaparte endeavored in every possible way to assure his support, but all in vain. Bernadotte attended all the family reunions, the dinners and the country excursions; he invited the Bonapartes to his house, and showed himself an admirable host; but he refused absolutely to commit himself in any respect. For the moment he remained on the outside.

Nothing was to be feared from the other generals: Macdonald and Sérurier had offered their services; Lefebvre, the commandant of Paris, was ready to follow Bonaparte as soon as he was appointed to the supreme command by decree of the Anciens. The aides de camp and generals brought back from Egypt proved excellent intermediaries with those officers who had not voluntarily come to the support of Bonaparte. Leclerc, the husband of Pauline, and Murat, who hoped to marry Caroline, were particularly useful in this connection.

It is certain that large sums of money were employed, but it is not known from what source these funds were secured. Bonaparte had brought back several millions from Italy, but during his absence in the Orient, his fortune had been entrusted to Joseph, who had used it as a common purse for the whole family. Both he and Lucien had purchased handsome estates, and had lived like princes. According to current reports, Napoleon, on his return, had found Joséphine heavily in debt, and no funds at his disposal. A contractor named Collot, who had made a fortune in Italy, is said to have advanced half a million; but the great bankers do not seem to have financed the revolution.

Among the ministers, Cambacérès brought the support of his great influence; Lindet and Dubois-Crancé remained neutral. The others, with the exception of Fouché, were of no account. The number of those who were in the full confidence of Bonaparte and Sieyès was very limited, and of the final plans Fouché knew very little. He was distrusted on account of his close intimacy

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with Barras. Besides, Fouché did not solicit confidences, and preferred to maintain a neutral position — ready to give his adherence to whichever party gained the day.

On the 15 Brumaire a subscription dinner was given by members of the two Councils to the two illustrious generals then present in Paris, Bonaparte and Moreau. The banquet took place in the Church of Saint-Sulpice, transformed since the Revolution into the Temple de la Victoire. A large crowd had gathered outside of the church, principally from curiosity to see Bonaparte. When he arrived in his carriage at six o'clock, the hour set for the dinner, he was greeted with cries of "Vive Bonaparte! La paix! La paix!"

The November fog had penetrated the church, and the air was cold and damp. The atmosphere of the banquet was equally glacial. Every one remarked the absence of Augereau, Bernadotte and Jourdan. Bonaparte ate but little, and only drank the wine brought by an aide de camp. He was the first to leave, followed by Moreau.

The next day, Jourdan came to his house for dinner, as arranged, and the two generals had a long conversation during the evening. Jourdan stated that he despaired of the future of the country unless there was a change in the government, and that he and his friends were ready to rally to Bonaparte provided they were assured that the modifications in the Constitution did not violate the essential principles of representative government, and of liberty and equality.

Such is Jourdan's own report of the conversation; but the Jacobin general omits to state that he received from Bonaparte personal guaranties, which account for his actions on the two days of the coup d'état.

The day of the 17 Brumaire was employed by Bonaparte in giving the final instructions. As it was important to have the troops on hand at an early hour, Colonel Sébastiani was invited to be present on horseback at the hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire at five o'clock in the morning, with two hundred dragoons of his regiment. At day-break, Sébastiani was to set his men in motion, giving as

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an excuse to his officers the report of a review commanded in honor of Bonaparte. Part of his troops were to be stationed on the Place de la Concorde, and others were to go to Bonaparte's house.

In spite of all the precautions which had been taken, it was impossible to prevent rumors of all these preparations from reaching the ears of the three Directors who were not in the secret. Barras received warnings, but ignored them; also Gohier and Moulin, who did not believe the reports. In order to keep Gohier out of the way on the critical day, Bonaparte took advantage of his infatuation for Joséphine, and had his wife invite the Director to breakfast. After sending Caroline and Hortense to Madame Campan's school at Saint-Germain, at midnight she wrote, and sent by Eugène to the Luxembourg, a short note, of which the facsimile has been preserved:

"Venez, mon cher Gohier, et votre femme, déjeuner avec moi demain à huit heures du matin. N'y manquez pas; j'ai à causer avec vous sur des choses très intéressantes. Adieu, mon cher Gohier. Comptez toujours sur ma sincère amitié.

"LAPAGERIE-BONAPARTE."

Up to the last moment, no ruse was spared to deceive Barras and Gohier. Bonaparte even invited himself for dinner at the apartment of the president of the Directory . . . for the 18 Brumaire! "In the case of a conspiracy," he said later, "everything is permitted."

At two o'clock in the morning, Bonaparte sent word to Moreau, Macdonald and Lefebvre to come to his hôtel on horseback at daybreak; the other officers had already been notified. All the preparations were now completed, and it only remained to carry out the project.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

1799

THE COUP D'ÉTAT

Meeting of the Inspectors — Session of the Anciens — The Decree Voted — The Generals at Bonaparte's House — He Leaves for the Tuileries — The Morning at the Luxembourg — Bonaparte at the Tuileries — His Famous Apostrophe — Session of the Cinq-Cents — Joséphine and Mme. Gohier — Resignation of Barras — The Ministers at the Tuileries — Bonaparte Appoints His Staff — The Final Conference — Opposition of the Jacobins — Attitude of Bernadotte — The Second Day — Bonaparte Leaves for Saint-Cloud — Description of the Château — The Sessions Begin — Bonaparte Addresses the Anciens — He Goes to the Cinq-Cents — He Mounts His Horse — Lucien Escorted from the Hall — He Harangues the Troops — The Cinq-Cents Expelled — The Night Sessions — The Consulate Established — The Return to Paris — Bonaparte Moves to the Luxembourg

THE execution of the plot began before daybreak on the morning of the 18 Brumaire, when the Inspectors met at the Tuileries to set the parliamentary machine in motion. These officials had the power of convoking the assembly, and of disposing of the guard. In the middle of the night the guard was ordered on duty, as if for the defence of the Château. The Inspectors gathered in their hall, and passed the night in writing summons for an extraordinary session of the Anciens at seven o'clock in the morning. Great care was taken not to notify any deputies who were known to be hostile. Between five and six o'clock the notices were delivered at the homes of the members, by the non-commissioned officers of the guard. Roused from their slumbers by this brusque summons, the deputies dressed hastily, and set out for the Tuileries.

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At the same time the troops were in movement from their barracks, following the lines of the boulevards, and all converging upon the strategic point — the district bounded by the Chaussée-d'Antin and the Tuileries. With the exception of a very few officers, all thought that they were going to an early morning review. At the War Department in the Place Vendôme every one was already on duty.

At six o'clock Rœderer and his son arrived at the hôtel of Talleyrand, whom they found in his dressing-room. "We have still an hour before us," said Talleyrand; "suppose you prepare for Barras a draft of an honorable letter of resignation, which will facilitate our negotiations with him." The young Rœderer sat down at a table and wrote at the dictation of his father. After several revisions, the letter was finally in satisfactory shape, and Talleyrand put it in his pocket, ready for use at the proper moment.

The hall of the Anciens, in the former theatre of the Tuileries, gradually filled up, and the session opened about eight o'clock. In the name of the Inspectors, a report was read, denouncing a terrible plot prepared by the Terrorists against the liberty of the nation. The paper concluded with an appeal to the courage and patriotic energies of the assembly.

The leaders of the opposition were absent, and no one demanded further explanations. The decree was at once proposed, and voted. It provided that the Corps Législatif should be transferred to Saint-Cloud, the two Councils to meet at noon on the following day, the 19 Brumaire, in the two wings of the palace; furthermore, that General Bonaparte should be instructed to execute the decree, and, for that purpose, should be placed in command of all the military forces of the capital. While the assembly still remained in session, two inspectors were sent to summon Bonaparte to the bar of the Anciens to take the oath.

Early in the morning, the residents of the quarters situated to the north of the Chaussée-d'Antin beheld a strange and unaccustomed sight. From every direction, officers

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in full-dress uniforms were passing through the streets, and all converging on the same point: the little hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire. Each one thought himself specially summoned, and expected to have a personal interview with Bonaparte. Great was the astonishment of all, when they arrived, to find assembled nearly every noted general officer in Paris: Berthier, Lannes, Lefebvre, Macdonald, Marmont, Moncey, Moreau, Murat, Sérurier, and many others. As the house was too small to hold them all, only the principal ones were allowed to enter. The others overflowed the little court and the garden. They talked in loud voices, full of hope and delight, as they realized that the long-looked-for day had arrived, "to throw the lawyers into the river," as Lefebvre expressed it. Bonaparte remained in his little cabinet, the door of which opened from time to time, to admit an important visitor. Berthier and the aides de camp did the honors; Joséphine remained invisible in her own apartments, where a déjeuner had been prepared.

Gohier, who was expected for déjeuner, had taken alarm over an invitation for so early an hour in the morning, and remained at the Luxembourg, sending his wife in his place. Bonaparte asked Madame Gohier to write her husband a note, urging him to come at once, but she added a few lines warning the Director of the gathering of officers, and he decided to stay at home. So this little plot failed.

Joseph brought Bernadotte with him, but the general was in civilian dress, as he did not wish to take part in the conspiracy. He resisted all the prayers of Bonaparte, but gave his promise to remain neutral. He finally departed to take breakfast with his brother-in-law.

A little later, the two inspectors arrived, bearing the decree of the Anciens. Bonaparte, in an order of the day addressed to the army, at once took command as generalissimo, and sent his aides de camp to direct all of the troops to assemble around the Tuileries. He then appeared upon the steps of the hôtel, in his uniform of general, wearing the little hat which was already legendary. In a few words,

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which were received with enthusiasm, he called upon all the officers to aid him to save the Republic. He then mounted his horse, and set out for the Tuileries, followed by the brilliant cavalcade of generals. He was escorted by the dragoons of Sébastiani, and was joined en route by several squadrons of cavalry, which were placed under the command of Murat.

The cortège followed the line of the boulevards and the Rue Royale to the Place de la Concorde, and reached the Tuileries by the Gardens. The crowd assembled around the Château was full of joyous animation, and the city had the air of a holiday rather than of a day of revolution. Nevertheless, all of the spectators understood that the demonstration meant the end of the existing régime, and the exclamation, "the Directory is down and out," was heard on all sides.

In the meantime, according to his own account, Barras was occupied in shaving and dressing, in his rooms at the Luxembourg. The door of Sieyès was closed to all visitors, and the director was anxiously waiting for the news that the decree was passed, when he expected to proceed in state to the Tuileries, at the head of the guard of the Directory. Becoming impatient, he finally descended to the garden to perfect himself in his new rôle of equestrian. Here he received word that the decree had been adopted, and at once prepared to set out. Great was his surprise to find no guards on duty! At daybreak the commander had led all the soldiers to the Tuileries, with drums beating and trumpets sounding. Sieyès was therefore forced to depart, escorted only by two officers attached to his person; and trotted modestly to the Château, which he entered by way of the Carrousel.

Gohier, alarmed by the reports from the Tuileries, called a meeting of the directors in the usual place of their deliberations, but only Moulin responded. Ducos had followed Sieyès, and Barras sent word that "he was in his bath," and could not come for an hour. He was still hoping to receive a summons from Bonaparte, and to be associated in the enterprise, even at the last moment.

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Gohier and Moulin, left by themselves, did not know what action to take. A curt note from the Inspectors had advised each one of the directors of the decree transferring the assemblies to Saint-Cloud, but gave no further details. They were requested to come to the Tuileries, where they would find their associates, Sieyès and Ducos. They did not know whether it was a measure entirely constitutional, to which they must give their assent, or the beginning of a coup d'état.

At this moment, Fouché, with his cadaverous face, put in an appearance. Ignorant of the day set for the movement, he had been surprised that morning by a summons from Bonaparte to join him at the Tuileries. Before complying, he had rushed to the Luxembourg to find out what the directors were doing. He was very coldly received by Gohier, who reproached him with the inactivity of the police. The astute minister did not take long to decide that the end of the Directory had come, and he set out for the Tuileries, to greet the rising sun.

After some further hesitation the two directors decided to act, but they needed the coöperation of Barras, in order to have a majority of the Directory on their side, and the wily ex-vicomte now sent word that he was ill, and could not join them.

Nevertheless, Barras was beginning to be alarmed by the silence of his old friend. Held back by his vanity, and the sense of his own importance, he did not feel like obeying the curt summons of the Inspectors, and finally ended by sending his secretary, Bottot, to the Tuileries in search of information.

Bonaparte had reached the Tuileries before ten o'clock, escorted by the dragoons of Sébastiani, who were deployed before the grenadiers of the guard of the Directory drawn up before the palace, so as to contain this troop if necessary. Bonaparte proceeded at once to the hall of the Anciens, followed by his brilliant staff of generals. It was his first appearance before a legislative assembly, and under the circumstances he acquitted himself very well. He delivered a brief address in which he carefully

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avoided any promise of fidelity to the Constitution. One deputy, Garat, attempted to call attention to the omission, but the president stated that, under the Constitution, there could now be no discussion except at Saint-Cloud, and immediately adjourned the session.

Bonaparte then descended to the Gardens, to pass the troops in review. Here he was approached by the secretary of Barras. After listening for a moment to Bottot, Bonaparte pushed him aside, and then, in a voice loud enough to be heard by all, he delivered the celebrated apostrophe:

“What have you done with that France which I left you so brilliant? I left you peace, I have found war! I left you victories, I have found defeats! I left you the millions of Italy, I have found everywhere despoiling laws and misery! What have you done with the hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew, my companions in glory? They are dead! ”

The impression made by these ringing words was most profound, and their undeniable truth has for all time marked the Directory with the brand of public opprobrium.

Remounting his horse, Bonaparte held a review of the troops. While the public was excluded from the Gardens, the different regiments of cavalry, infantry and artillery defiled before him, and greeted him with cheers.

At eleven o'clock the Five-Hundred assembled in the Palais-Bourbon, on the other side of the Seine. This palace took its name from the Duchesse de Bourbon, the daughter of Louis the Fourteenth and Madame de Montespan, who began the construction in 1722. Later, the building was greatly enlarged by her grandson, the Prince de Condé. Condemned as national property during the Revolution, in 1798 it was transformed for the meetings of the Cinq-Cents, and is to-day the Chambre des Députés.

Lucien Bonaparte took the presidential chair, and the secretary was reading the minutes, when a messenger ap-

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peared, bearing the decree of the Anciens. Under the Constitution, any discussion was prohibited, and the session was at once adjourned until noon on the following day at the Château of Saint-Cloud.

While these events were taking place, Joséphine had employed all of her arts and graces to keep Madame Gohier at her house. The wife of the director finally succeeded in making her escape; and with some difficulty reached the Luxembourg, through the streets crowded with spectators and encumbered by the movements of the troops. As a profound secret, Joséphine had informed her visitor that Talleyrand was going to see Barras, and demand his resignation. This communication, when conveyed to Gohier by his wife, led the director to imagine that only Barras was to be eliminated, without affecting the other members of the Executive. From this moment Gohier was partially implicated in the conspiracy. He believed that Barras was to be the scapegoat, and took no further steps to obstruct the course of events.

In the meantime, Barras, in his apartment, counted the minutes; and as hour after hour passed without any word from Bonaparte, he became more and more uneasy. It was after midday when Talleyrand was finally announced. He drew from his pocket the draft of the famous letter, in which Barras was made to say that he had only engaged in public affairs through his passion for liberty, and concluded with the statement that he returned with joy to the ranks of simple citizens. The bitter pill was presented with all the courtesy and grace of that consummate diplomat, Talleyrand; it was gilded with the offer of a round sum of money, and was duly swallowed by the patient. The business finished, Barras expressed the desire to leave at once, and retire to his estate of Grosbois. An hour later he left Paris, escorted by a hundred dragoons, furnished by the little general whom he had once condescended to befriend. Thus the Vicomte Paul de Barras "slipped stealthily out of history."

At the end of the review, Bonaparte joined Sieyès and Ducos in the hall of the Inspectors at the Tuileries. The

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ministers had all been summoned to appear there, under pretext of assuring the execution of the decree. The first to arrive were Fouché and Cambacérès, the ministers of the Police and of Justice; they were followed by Quinette, of the Interior, Reinhard, of Foreign Affairs; and, after a second summons, by Lindet, the Minister of Finance. The only one who did not come was Dubois-Crancé, of the War Office, who had been divested by the decree of all authority over the troops. Fouché was loud in his protestations of devotion. Through excess of zeal, he had ordered all the barriers of the city closed, as usual on days of revolution, but Bonaparte instructed him to countermand the order.

One of the first acts of Bonaparte was to send three hundred soldiers to the Luxembourg, under the command of Moreau, to guard Gohier and Moulin. The directors were indignant over this act of surveillance, and addressed a message of protest to the Councils, which Moreau suppressed.

At one o'clock Bonaparte sent the troops concentrated around the Tuileries to guard the principal strategic points of the capital, including the approaches to the Château, the Champs-Élysées, and the route to Saint-Cloud. At the same time he designated, for the most important commands, the generals most devoted to his person: Lefebvre, as his "first lieutenant"; Andréossy, as chief of staff; Lannes, as commandant at the Tuileries; Murat, at the Palais-Bourbon; Marmont, as head of the artillery; Macdonald, at Versailles; and Sérurier, with a strong detachment of infantry, at Point-du-Jour (Issy), whence he was to advance in the morning to Saint-Cloud, and take the position of second in command.

As soon as the soldiers left the Tuileries, the spectators returned to their homes or their work, and the city resumed its usual aspect. Although the result of the coup d'état was not yet known, the public funds had risen on the Bourse. The bankers offered their assistance: "two millions were brought to the Treasury before three o'clock, and two more were promised for the following

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day." It was evident that the changes had made a favorable impression in the city.

Bonaparte remained at the Tuileries, which had become both the civil and military headquarters, until late in the evening, when he returned to the Rue de la Victoire for the night. At the Château, there was a continual throng of prominent men, who came to pay their respects and offer their adhesion. Many persons considered doubtful, if not hostile, put in an appearance, including Jourdan and Augereau. Before separating for the night, there was a final council, at which were present, Bonaparte, Sieyès, Ducos, Lucien, and several others. The plans for the following day were discussed, but the only things definitely agreed upon were, the suppression of the Directory, and the appointment of three provisional consuls, by vote of the two Councils.

Sieyès, "absorbed in his reflections, only proposed abstract ideas"; Ducos was silent; Lucien felt sure of controlling the Five-Hundred. Cambacérès was astonished to find the plans so indefinite. It was a grave imprudence! Bonaparte made the mistake of leaving the details in the hands of his parliamentary advisers, and they committed the error of relying for success upon his military prestige. A proposition of Sieyès, that the leading Jacobins, about forty in number, should be arrested, was vetoed by Bonaparte, who still adhered to his original determination that the revolution should be accomplished, if possible, without violent measures. He felt himself so sure of his ground, so powerful, so popular, that he could come to supreme power without a struggle, without shedding a drop of blood.

The Jacobins in the Cinq-Cents spent the day, and most of the night, in stirring up opposition. They received but little support from the military clique, Jourdan, Augereau, and their followers, who had concluded a kind of armistice with Bonaparte, and decided not to go to Saint-Cloud the next day, but remain home, as "passive spectators of events."

The civilian Jacobins, on the contrary, were full of

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fight, and determined to force hostilities. As it was evident that the army would once more be the arbiter of the destinies of the Republic, they felt the necessity of opposing the sword of Bonaparte with that of another general who had standing with the soldiers, and they naturally turned to Bernadotte.

After taking breakfast with Joseph, and appearing for a moment at the Tuileries, during the afternoon, Bernadotte had spent the evening with the Jacobins, and had arranged to see the chiefs of the party at his house at five o'clock in the morning. Having refused to act as the lieutenant of Bonaparte, he now hoped to force himself upon him as an associate.

The night passed quietly. Lannes guarded the Tuileries, and Moreau, the Luxembourg. The troops occupied all the strategic points. The theatres were crowded, as usual. Without, the rain fell in torrents, and the streets were practically deserted. The day which had begun with golden sunshine, ended with a November night, rainy and sombre.

On Sunday morning, the 19 Brumaire, the air was clear and cool, after the storm of the night before. At dawn the troops began their march from Paris to Saint-Cloud. At the head of the line was Sérurier with the detachments of infantry which had passed the night at Auteuil, Passy and Issy. Lefebvre and his staff followed, with the dragoons and chasseurs. The grenadiers of the guard of the Directory and the Councils marched from their caserne of the Capucines, but one of the two battalions was left behind, as the officers had no confidence in their men.

Fouché stayed at Paris to insure order in the capital: a rôle which pleased him, as being less compromising. In concert with the military authorities he took strong measures to repress any outbreak.

The "army of generals" had already gathered at Bonaparte's house. In a few brief words he gave his final orders. As the day promised to be long and tiresome, he

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told Lannes, who was still suffering from his wound, that he had better remain at home. He then set out in a carriage with his aides de camp, escorted by a detachment of cavalry. He was followed by his military and civil staff, who were also in carriages. As they traversed the Place de la Concorde, the site of the guillotine, Bourrienne remarked to Lavalette, "We shall sleep tomorrow in the Luxembourg, or we shall finish here."

The route from Paris to Saint-Cloud, which passed through the Bois de Boulogne, was crowded with carriages, horsemen and pedestrians. Every person of importance was accompanied by some friend or adherent: Sieyès had with him the inseparable Ducos; Talleyrand had the two Rœderers, father and son.

At Saint-Cloud, while waiting for the spectacle to begin, every one was taking breakfast: all of the inns and cafés were crowded. The scene resembled a great picnic, out of season.

By the advice of Bonaparte, the speculator Collot had rented a house near the Château, and here Talleyrand took up his quarters, as he had no official rôle to play.

All of the furniture of the palace had disappeared during the Revolution, but the gildings and the decorations remained intact. The building was now in the hands of an army of decorators, who were hastily preparing the rooms for the meetings: two for the Councils, one for the Inspectors, and another for the staff. The grenadiers of the Corps Législatif were on guard at all the posts, within the building and in the court. Around the palace were grouped the other troops, of all arms. Their number was not very considerable: less than a full regiment of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and one or two companies of artillery.

A carriage, escorted by a few dragoons, crossed the bridge, below at the left, rapidly mounted the avenue, entered the court, and stopped. A small group of officers alighted and entered the Château, with Bonaparte at their head. He at once made a tour of inspection, and

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was disappointed to find that the preparations were not yet completed for the opening of the sessions, set for midday.

In order to clearly understand the events to follow, a brief description of the Château is necessary. It was built at the edge of a magnificent park, on a long terrace overlooking the Seine, with the city of Paris at a distance in the background. The main building and the two projecting wings framed the court of honor, which was entered from an exterior court at the right. Behind the Château was a beautiful French garden, bordered on one side by an extension of the palace, and on the other by an alley shaded by high trees, which still exist. The building was of moderate dimensions, and the court and the garden were quite small.

The most beautiful room in the palace, the Gallery of Apollo, on the first floor in the right wing, was reserved for the Anciens. To accommodate the Cinq-Cents, nothing better could be found than the Orangerie, a long stone annex to the main building, behind, and on the same line with, the right wing, in which the Anciens were to sit. This room was bare and cold, but it was well lighted by twelve high and wide windows, looking out on the garden, and opening at full length just above the ground; the other wall was blank. The entrance was by a door next to the palace, and at the farther end there was another door giving access to the park. The annex was separated from the main building by a small corridor or vestibule, and here a post of a few guards was stationed. The members of the Cinq-Cents, entering from the court of honor, could reach their place of meeting by going through several corridors, and ascending a short staircase, for the rez-de-chaussée of the palace, on account of the slope of the land, was lower than the garden and the Orangerie.

The desk of the president was placed on a platform erected opposite the fourth window from the main entrance; at right and left were the tables for the two secretaries; and below was the tribune, reached by a double

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staircase. The remainder of the hall was occupied by the seats of the deputies, except a small space at each end, which could accommodate perhaps two hundred spectators, placed on the same level as the members, but separated from them by a railing.

The name of Saint-Cloud is a corruption of Clodewald, a royal saint; he bequeathed the lands to the bishops of Paris, who built a palace there. The property subsequently came into the possession of a banker named Gondi, one of the adventurers who followed Catherine de Médicis from Italy. He erected a villa there, which, with the park, was purchased by Louis the Fourteenth, and presented to his brother, the Duc d'Orléans. In 1785 Saint-Cloud was sold for six million francs to Marie-Antoinette, who made great improvements in the Château, and frequently resided there prior to the Revolution. During the Consulate and the Empire, it was the favorite summer residence of Napoleon, as it was afterwards of his nephew, Napoleon the Third. During the siege of Paris in the Franco-Prussian war, Saint-Cloud was occupied by the Germans, and the Château was destroyed by shots from the fortress of Mont-Valérien. Later the ruined walls were torn down, and not a vestige of the building now remains.

At one o'clock the hall of the Cinq-Cents was finally ready. Lucien Bonaparte took the chair, and declared the session opened. A motion that all the deputies renew individually the oath to the Constitution, was received with thunders of applause. According to custom, this oath had to be taken by each member appearing in the tribune as his name was called, an operation which consumed much time, and it was not completed until four o'clock.

In the meantime the Anciens had assembled, with the usual dignified ceremonies. A demand was at once made by the Opposition that the Inspectors explain more clearly the reasons for the transfer of the place of meeting. To cut short a debate on this dangerous question, a friendly deputy remarked that they could not take any valid action until they knew that the Cinq-Cents were in

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session. The meeting was therefore suspended at three o'clock to await word from the other Council.

While these events were taking place, Bonaparte was anxiously waiting in his headquarters on the first floor, near the Gallery of Apollo, in which the Anciens were sitting. Here he received word that Jourdan and Augereau had arrived from Paris. Feeling that there was no time to lose, between three-thirty and four o'clock, he left his room, and proceeded to the assembly of the Anciens, followed by his aides de camp. The session was still suspended, but on the announcement of the General, all the members resumed their seats.

On entering, Bonaparte took a position in the centre of the room, facing the platform of the president, with Berthier and Bourrienne at his side. He then made a short address, which was full of blunders. He was no orator, and was not accustomed to the ways of legislative assemblies: he knew how to command, but not how to persuade. Like an amateur actor upon his first appearance, all his faculties seemed paralyzed, as by stage-fright. His words had no coherency and no connection.

Bonaparte finally withdrew, and, once outside the hall, seemed to recover his usual self-possession. He then proceeded to the Orangerie, where the Cinq-Cents were in session. With some difficulty he made his way through the groups of deputies, and approached the tribune. Suddenly there came from all sides cries of: "Down with the dictator! Down with the tyrant! Outlaw him!" He was surrounded by a mob of frantic deputies, who pushed and struck him. Bonaparte, who had an instinctive horror of the personal contact of a crowd, almost fainted. At the sight of their general in peril, Murat and Lefebvre, and the soldiers near the door, forced their way into the room, and finally succeeded in rescuing Bonaparte from the mob.

In the hall the cries of "Hors la loi!" which had preceded the fall of Robespierre, still continued. With marvellous coolness, Lucien succeeded for a moment in dominating the situation, and made his voice heard, in a call to order. But soon the tumult was renewed, and he

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gave up the presidential chair, to address the assembly from the tribune.

In the meantime, Bonaparte had returned to his apartment on the first floor, where he was surrounded by his associates, Sieyès and Ducos, and by his staff of generals. Murat and Leclerc urged him to call on the troops, and Sieyès declared that the moment had come to draw the sword and cut to the quick. He finally decided that no other course was feasible, and descended to the courtyard and mounted his horse. With his staff around him, he addressed the soldiers, and asked if he could count upon them. "Yes! Yes!" they cried, and cheered him frantically.

It was now nearly five o'clock. The night was coming on, and nothing was yet decided. In the Five-Hundred, Lucien was still trying to make his voice heard from the tribune, in defence of his brother. But the tumult grew worse every moment, and he gave up hope of any solution except intervention from without. Leaning over from the tribune he whispered to a friendly inspector: "Go and tell my brother that unless the session is suspended within ten minutes I cannot be responsible for anything."

The inspector at once acquitted himself of the commission. This signal of distress was all that was necessary to give Napoleon the inspiration for the final action. In a moment the relief of Lucien was prepared and executed. A captain, followed by ten grenadiers, entered the hall and escorted Lucien to the door. Descending to the courtyard, he mounted a horse, beside his brother, and harangued the troops in ringing tones:

"Citizen soldiers! The President of the Council of the Five-Hundred assures you that the immense majority of that Council for the moment is living in terror of a few members armed with daggers, who are besieging the rostrum, threatening their colleagues with death and forcing them into decisions of the most terrible kind. I declare to you that these audacious brigands, paid no doubt by England, have rebelled against the Council of the Ancients and have dared to talk of outlawing the

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general charged with the execution of its decree. Let them be expelled by force! These brigands do not represent the people, they represent the dagger! ”

From the soldiers came a unanimous cry of approval. At last Napoleon gave the order. The officers drew their swords, the drums beat the charge, and the grenadiers, with bayonets fixed, led by the intrepid Joachim Murat, mounted the stairway that led to the Orangerie.

Within the hall confusion reigned supreme: the deputies had heard the shouts, followed by the dull rhythmic beats of the drums, which became louder and louder. The door flew open, and the troops appeared. A second detachment under Leclerc followed. Murat gave the command: the troops with crossed bayonets advanced upon the deputies, and soon cleared the hall. One by one the members dropped out of the low windows, and some of them did not stop running until they reached the gates of Paris.

The dissolution of the Cinq-Cents at once brought the Anciens to their senses. A committee was appointed, which met in a room of the Château, and soon presented a report providing for the appointment of three temporary Consuls, Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Ducos; an adjournment of the two Councils until the 22 December; and the creation of a commission to draft a new constitution.

The report of the committee was immediately put in the form of a decree, which was adopted by the Anciens with only one dissenting vote. The session was then suspended for two hours, until nine o'clock.

In the poorly lighted Château the victors encamped upon the field of battle. Lucien received many compliments; but it is an exaggeration to state that he alone had saved the day for his brother. The result would have been the same in any event.

While Bonaparte and his associates dined as best they could at the Château, messengers were dispatched in every direction in search of the dispersed Five-Hundred, and finally about one hundred of them were persuaded or forced to return. The reunion was a strange

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

sight. The large room was lighted only by a few candles placed upon the platform and the tribune. Lucien took the chair and called the meeting to order, and the decree already passed by the Ancients was immediately adopted.

It was after midnight before all the legislative work was finished. The new Consuls were then sent for to take the oath. At two o'clock in the morning, the celebrated general, the ex-abbé, and the former justice of the peace, entered and took their places before the president, Lucien, who read the oath. The three men extended their arms, and responded: "I swear it." Such was the inauguration of "the greatest government France has ever known."

A repetition of the same scene followed, before the Ancients; and towards the end of the night it seemed that the initial work was all finished. Every one then set out for Paris, and the Château was left in solitude. Bonaparte went home in a carriage with Bourrienne: absorbed in his reflections, he did not speak during the trip. Sieyès and Ducos returned to the Luxembourg, where Moreau was still guarding their former associate, Gohier; Moulin had been allowed to escape.

The day following the 19 Brumaire, the 11 November by our calendar, was a *décadi*, or Republican Sunday. At ten o'clock in the morning, Bonaparte, dressed in civilian costume, left his house, and in a carriage, escorted only by six dragoons, proceeded to the Luxembourg, to rejoin his colleagues and set the new government in operation. During the course of the day, Joséphine also left the little hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire, and moved across the Seine. That night, for the first time, Napoleon slept beneath the roof of one of the royal palaces of France. It was ten years, six months and six days since the States-General assembled at Versailles.

The curtain had rung down on the last scene of the French Revolution.

APPENDIX

THE BOURBONS

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

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CHRONOLOGY

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE THE BOURBONS

Louis XIII = Anne of Austria
1601-1643 1603-1666

Louis XIV = Maria Theresa
of Spain
1638-1715 1639-1683

Charlotte Elizabeth (2) = Philippe, Duke of = (1) Henrietta Maria of
of Bavaria Orleans England, daughter
1640-1701 of Charles I

Louis, called "Le Grand Dauphin" = Maria Anne Christina
1661-1711 1660-1690

Philippe, Duke of Orleans = Franoise, Mlle. de Blois, natural
Regent daughter of Louis XIV and
1674-1733 Madame de Montespan

Louis, Duke of Burgundy = Maria Adelaide
1639-1712 of Savoy
1665-1713

Philippe, Duke of Anjou = (1) Maria Louisa
of Savoy
1633-1746
= (2) Elizabeth
Farnese

Louis, Duke of Orleans = Augusta Maria
1703-1763 of Baden

Louis XV = Marie Lezinska
1710-1774 1703-1768

Louis Philippe = Louise Henriette de
Duke of Orleans Bourbon-Conti
1725-1785

Louise Elizabeth
(Madame Inyonne)
1727-1759

Louis = (1) Maria Theresa
of Spain
1726-1746
= (2) Maria Josephine
of Savoy
1731-1761

Adelaide
1732-1800

Victoire
1733-1799

Sophie
1734-1782

Louise
1737-1787

Philip, Duke of Parma
Infant of Spain

Louis XVI = Marie
Antoinette
of Austria
1755-1793

Charles X =
Theresa of
Sardinia
1756-1806

Clothide =
Emmanuel IV
King of
Sardinia
1759-1802

Elizabeth
1764-1794

Louis Philippe = Maria Amelia
King of the
French
1775-1830

Louis XVII = Sophie
1766-1787

Maria
1765-1824

Louis XVIII = Maria
Louisa of
Sardinia
1753-1810

Charles, Duke of Berry = Caroline of the
Two Sicilies
1778-1820

Louis Philippe = Maria Amelia
King of the
French
1775-1830

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FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR

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	An II	III	V	VI	VII	IV	VIII
	1793-4	1794-5	1796-7	1797-8	1798-9	1795-6	1799-1800
1 ^{er} Vendémiaire		22 Septembre				23 Septembre	23 Septembre
1 ^{er} Brumaire		22 Octobre				23 Octobre	23 Octobre
1 ^{er} Frimaire		21 Novembre				22 Novembre	22 Novembre
1 ^{er} Nivôse		21 Décembre				22 Décembre	22 Décembre
1 ^{er} Pluviôse		20 Janvier				21 Janvier	21 Janvier
1 ^{er} Ventôse		19 Février				20 Février	20 Février
1 ^{er} Germinal		21 Mars				21 Mars	22 Mars
1 ^{er} Floréal		20 Avril				20 Avril	21 Avril
1 ^{er} Prairial		20 Mai				20 Mai	21 Mai
1 ^{er} Messidor		19 Juin				19 Juin	20 Juin
1 ^{er} Thermidor		19 Juillet				19 Juillet	20 Juillet
1 ^{er} Fructidor		18 Août				18 Août	19 Août

CHRONOLOGY

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|---|---|
| <p>1754 Birth of Louis XVI, 23 August</p> <p>1755 Birth of Marie - Antoinette, 2 November</p> <p>1770 Marriage of Louis and Marie - Antoinette, 19 April</p> <p>1774 Accession of Louis XVI, 10 May</p> <p>1776 Turgot dismissed, May</p> <p>1777 Necker, Controller, 29 June</p> <p>1778 Franco-American Alliance, 6 February</p> <p>1781 Necker dismissed, 19 May</p> <p>1783 Peace with England, 9 September</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Calonne, Controller, November</p> <p>1785 Affair of the Necklace, February - August</p> <p>1787 Assembly of Notables, 22 February</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Calonne succeeded by Brienne, April</p> <p>1788 Necker recalled, 25 August</p> <p>1789 States-General assemble, 5 May</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Title of National Assembly adopted, 17 June</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Oath of the Tennis-Court, 20 June</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Royal Session, 23 June</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Union of the Three Estates, 27 June</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Necker dismissed, 11 July</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Fall of the Bastille, 14 July</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">First Emigration begins, 16 July</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Feudal rights abolished, 4 August</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The mob at Versailles, 5 October</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The King goes to Paris, 6 October</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The Assembly moves to Paris, 19 October</p> <p>1790 Fête of the Federation, 14 July</p> | <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Resignation of Necker, 4 September</p> <p>1791 Death of Mirabeau, 2 April</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Flight to Varennes, 20 June</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Declaration of Pillnitz, 27 August</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The King accepts the Constitution, 14 September</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The Legislative Assembly meets, 1 October</p> <p>1792 War with Austria, 20 April</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The mob at the Tuileries, 20 June</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The Brunswick Manifesto, 25 July</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Massacre of the Swiss Guard, 10 August</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Vendée Insurrection, August</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The September Massacres, 2-5 September</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Battle of Valmy, 20 September</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Republic proclaimed, 22 September</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Battle of Jemmapes, 6 November</p> <p>1793 Committee of General Defence, 4 January</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The King executed, 21 January</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">War with England and Holland, 1 February</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">War with Spain, 7 March</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Revolutionary Tribunal, 10 March</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Defection of Dumouriez, 5 April</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Committee of Public Safety, 6 April</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The Convention at the Tuileries, 10 May</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Fall of the Gironde, 2 June</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Marat assassinated, 13 July</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Execution of the Queen, 16 October</p> |
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| <p>The Girondins executed, 31 October</p> <p>Toulon evacuated, 19 December</p> <p>1794 The "Great Terror" begins, March</p> <p>Danton guillotined, 5 April</p> <p>Battle of Fleurus, 26 June</p> <p>Fall of Robespierre (9 Thermidor), 27 July</p> <p>Pichegru conquers the Low Countries, October</p> <p>Jacobin Club closed, 11 November</p> <p>1795 Peace with Prussia, 5 April</p> <p>Death of the Dauphin, 8 June</p> <p>Peace with Spain, 4 September</p> <p>Belgium annexed, 1 October</p> <p>The 13 Vendémiaire, 5 October</p> <p>The Directory installed, 27 October</p> <p>1796 Campaign of Italy begins, 11 April</p> <p>Truce with Sardinia, 28 April</p> <p>Battle of Castiglione, 5 August</p> <p>Battle of Arcole, 15-17 November</p> <p>1797 Battle of Rivoli, 14 January</p> <p>Mantua surrenders, 2 February</p> | <p>Treaty of Tolentino, 19 February</p> <p>Leoben Preliminaries, 18 April</p> <p>The 18 Fructidor, 4 September</p> <p>Peace of Campo-Formio, 17 October</p> <p>1798 Bonaparte sails from Toulon, 19 May</p> <p>Malta captured, 11 June</p> <p>Alexandria taken, 2 July</p> <p>Battle of the Pyramids, 21 July</p> <p>Battle of the Nile, 1 August</p> <p>1799 Jaffa occupied, 7 March</p> <p>Siege of Acre, 19 March-20 May</p> <p>Souvaroff's Campaign in Italy, June</p> <p>Battle of Aboukir, 25 July</p> <p>Joubert killed at Novi, 15 August</p> <p>Bonaparte leaves Egypt, 24 August</p> <p>Russian defeats in Switzerland, September-October</p> <p>Bonaparte lands at Fréjus, 9 October</p> <p>The 18 Brumaire; 9 November</p> <p>Bonaparte, Consul, 10 November</p> |
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Nearly all of the numerous memoirs of the time, so largely used by historians of the last generation, were composed after the lapse of many years, between the observation of the event and the writing down of the record, and few are trustworthy. An amazing number of these memoirs, including those of Barras, Fouché, and Robespierre, are not authentic. Even those of Bertrand, Campan, Dumont, Fersen, Ferrières, Malouet, and Madame Roland, are more or less rejected by Lord Acton. Doubts have also been expressed as to the genuineness of the "*Mémoires de Talleyrand*," and of the recent publication by Heidenstam on "*Marie-Antoinette, Fersen et Barnave, leur correspondance*" (Paris 1913), but in this latter case probably all the errors cited by the critic can be easily explained.

The reader should also be on his guard not to be misled by the immense amount of forged material which has been published, such as the third volume of the "*Mémoires*" of Bailly, the "*Journal of a Spy in Paris during the Reign of Terror*," and the "*Lettres de Marie-Antoinette*," published by Hunolstein and Feuillet de Conches.

Almost equally untrustworthy are the works of many of the older historians, who relied upon sources of which the authenticity is more than doubtful; for example, the two newspapers, the "*Moniteur*" and the "*Journal des débats*," and a contemporary "*Histoire de la révolution française par deux amis de la liberté*."

A marked characteristic of the later school of historians has been their rejection of the *Mémoires* and their emancipation from the authority of the writers who relied upon them. This phase is represented by the works of Sybel, Taine and Sorel.

For a more extensive Bibliography, the reader is referred to volume VIII of the Cambridge Modern History, and "*The French Revolution*" by William O'Connor Morris (New York, 1887); also, for a very interesting and able examination of the sources, to the Appendix

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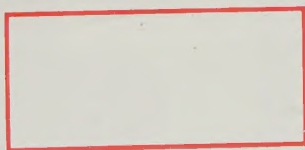
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